

Fatal Effects of Arbitrary Power,

And the dangerous Condition of

COURT - FAVOURITES,

D E M O N S T R A T E D

By the wicked Intrigues of the Court of *Philip II. King of Spain.* That Prince's Cruelty and Falshood. The execrable Practices of envious Statesmen, and other ambitious Persons, sticking at no Wickedness to please that Prince. The miserable inthralling of a Kingdom, for asserting its undoubted Rights, Privileges, and Liberties. The inhuman Persecutions and unparallell'd Sufferings of *Antony Perez*, Prime Minister, Secretary of State, and Favourite of the said King *Philip*, and Author of the present Relation, verify'd and attested by unquestionable Witnesses, and original Papers.

With an ACCOUNT of

Don John of Austria's aspiring to the Crown of *England*, and his Contrivances for attaining to it.

L O N D O N: Printed for *Jonas Brown* at the *Black Swan* without *Temple-Bar*, and *J. Richardson* at the *King's Head*, the Corner of *Swithin's Alley* in *Cornhill*, 1715.



7 Dec



THE PREFACE.



HIS Relation (for that is the Title given it by the Author, who at the same Time is the main Subject of it) is of so extraordinary a Nature, that it cannot but be acceptable to most curious Persons. The Fall of Favourites is not unusual; but this is attended with such extraordinary Circumstances, as make it appear quite out of the common Course. So much Favour, and so much Oppression, are singular Instances of the little Dependance there is on the Grandeurs of this World, whose Vicissitudes are such, that the most exalted Mortals have but a very slippery Standing. Monarchs are not exempted from Calamities; then how should Subjects hope to be more secure? Where the tall Cedars are blown down, it is in vain for Shrubs to expect to be unshaken. As for Antony Perez, he gives so ample an Account of himself, that there appears no Necessity of adding to it; and yet, after all, like Ovid, he leaves us in the Dark as to the true Occasion of his Disgrace. He, in this small Work,
A 2 *promises*

THE PREFACE.

promises that which he calls his Commentaries, but to our great Loss, that never appear'd, either because he was prevented by Death, or else the Secrets it would reveal, were then thought too weighty to be made publick. That, in all Probability, might have been a most curious Piece of History, as coming from a Man who had been acquainted with, and was resolv'd, in his own Vindication, to expose such Arcana, as few Historians, whatsoever they pretend to, have been Masters of. But it is past retrieving, and we have nothing but Guesses at the Original of the Author's Misfortunes. He lays all the Blame on the Malice of Competitors; but so absolute a Prince could never be drove to a Necessity of proceeding in such Manner against the Person he had once most affected; and must himself have taken some heinous Distast, to proceed with such Rigour. Some will have it, that King Philip, tho' then old, had an Inclination to the Princess of Eboli, and was jealous of the Liberties she allow'd Antony Perez, which occasion'd the Persecution of them both. Whatsoever the Motives were, it is certain Antony Perez was barbarously treated. He had been the Instrument for taking off John de Escovedo, but it was by the King his Master's special Command, and for his Service, who therefore ought not to have prosecuted him so cruelly upon that Account, and might have silenc'd all Proceedings with a Word of his Mouth, especially when the Parties concern'd, had been bought off. The Vouchers here produc'd are most of them under the King's own Hand, or under that of his Confessor, or other most eminent Persons, which will not permit,

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permit us to call them in Question. Yet, after all, these Mysteries of State are so abstruse, that they leave Room for many Reflections. Antony Perez might, notwithstanding all his Excuses, and the Fidelity he often inculcates due to his Sovereign, have produc'd some of those Vouchers, when he was so hardly press'd at Madrid, and had the King's Order for so doing; and yet he suffer'd himself to be rack'd, rather than consent to it; and since he had more, as he tells us, he might have produc'd more in Aragon; tho' what we have here, was abundantly sufficient to clear him. Thus much as to Antony Perez.

It remains to observe, that the Proceedings against the Kingdom of Aragon, were unjust in the highest Degree. No Nation under the Sun, besides that, can produce the so much talk'd of original Compact with their Kings. There is an Account of it in the Relation, for which Reason it will be needless to repeat the same here; only this may be observ'd, that it was ever preserv'd; that all their Kings had sworn to it, as had King Philip the II^d; and his Son Philip III. did the same after him; so did Philip IV, and his Son King Charles II. The present King Philip V, having reduc'd that Kingdom by Force of Arms, for rejecting of him, has abolish'd all those Privileges, and reduc'd it to the Form of a Province; so that there is now no Justice of Aragon, nor any of those Courts mention'd in this Relation, which had subsisted so many Ages; for tho' Philip II, by his Army, executed the Justice, and as many more as he pleas'd, contrary to the known Laws; yet his
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Son Philip III, a religious Prince, revers'd all the Attainders, and restor'd the Honour to their Families, since he could not restore Life to the Sufferers. Had he gone through with the Work he so well begun, it had been still more glorious; but his Zeal was check'd by ill Advisers; and being more pious than politick, he stopp'd in the Midst of the Career, leaving a Design so honourable, as doing Right to the Injur'd, unfinish'd.

This is not of the Sort of those infamous Libels against Kings, publish'd under the Name of Secret Histories, which are no better than publick Forgeries, being no other than the Product of the Malice of such Writers, as knew nothing of those Princes they take the Liberty to slander and defame. We have here a prime Minister revealing the least Part of those Secrets he was intrusted with, and producing original Papers to make good all his Assertions; first before a Court in the Kingdom of Aragon, where the Hands of the King, and others concern'd, were perfectly known, and afterwards at Paris, a Court no less acquainted with those Hands, and which would not have suffer'd it self to be impos'd upon by the most artful Minister. There needs no more, the Relation speaks sufficiently for it self.

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T H E

The Fatal Effects of Arbitrary Power, &c.

A Relation, which is wholly to consist of deplorable Accidents, if we may give that Name to such merciless Proceedings, as I am about to deliver, when they are the product of Humane Resolutions, cannot be more properly begun than by Executions and Imprisonments; tho' it be only Prosperity that is subject to the greatest Disasters, as the greatest Falls are from the highest Places. Therefore I will not enter upon this Subject, by giving an account in how great favour *Antony Perez* was with his Catholick Majesty King *Philip II.* when he was apprehended the first time, at the same Moment as the Princess of *Eboly*, *Donna Anna de Mendoca, y de la Cerda*, Wife to the Prince *Ruy Gomez de Sylva*; for it will easily appear that he was in great Esteem and Favour, by the Course of his Fortune, and by what I shall relate of the Intrigues, Contrivances and Projects, that pass'd betwixt the King and the Subject, and more especially that he might not quit the Service of his King; because he at that Time labouring under the Oppression

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pression of Malice and Envy, and under the Burden of his own Fidelity and Merits, was very desirous to withdraw himself from his Prince's Service, and so to step down from the high Pinnacle of Favour he was on, which Experience had taught him he had much Cause to fear. But the great Secret in this part and other Mysteries those Papers are full of, which *Antony Perez* in his own Defence presented in *Aragon*, and some that are added here shall by him be unravell'd another Day. Nor will I now undertake to judge of the Prudence or Indiscretion of so many as suffer'd in this mighty Shipwreck, since every Man may easily make his own Judgment by the Contents of these Papers, and will perceive that such furious Storms and dreadful Accidents could not barely be occasion'd by their Fault, or want of Discretion, or through evil Management, but by the Divine Providence and Permission, for some extraordinary Ends; and that it was the Will of God, as Potter and Lord of the universal Clay, to harden the Hearts of some obstinate Persons; to make Choice of others as Vessels of Patience and Example; and make Use of others to show to the World, and by their means make all People sensible, that the main thing Men use to exert and exercise their Power is in undoing, destroying and ruining, contrary to the ways of God, and that he is readier in doing good than even Men are to do evil. And considering the Princesses great and extraordinary Sufferings, not under one Stroke of the Axe, which is often rather Mercy than Cruelty,

Cruelty, but under several Years Hardships, as Imprisonment, Sequestration of Estate and Honours, and Obstruction of making her Defence; and considering the Havock and Destruction made of *Antony Perez* in all his Parts, his Honour, Estate, Wife, Children, Friends, and a whole Kingdom, and the long Continuance and Excess thereof, such Penalties, such Severities ought to have been groundd on, and authoriz'd by the Laws of God, of Nature, or of Nations; before they ought to have been inflicted, or it had been made a Crime to complain, and for one of them to demand Justice, and the other to play the Philosopher despising Humane Prosperities, and fearing the Dangers of them. These things are rather meritorious in all the Laws above-mention'd, and accounted greatness of Mind by the most famous of Men, even among the *Gentils*. I will now come to the Relation of Murders, Imprisonments, Calamities, Surprises, Affronts, Wrongs, Violence, Havock, Destruction, Sufferings, Martyrdoms, Subornations, false Depositions, Conspiracies, and the Captivity of Widows, marry'd Women, Maidens, Children, Infants, New Born Innocents, and even the Un-born crying for Justice; of all which this present Age has afforded a plentiful Harvest.

However, before I enter upon my Relation, I will give some Account, who *Antony Perez* is, and of his Predecessors, that the Person here chiefly to be spoken of may be known, as well as his Fortune. I will not rake up the venerable Bones, and worthy Ancestors, that fill the

Chappels of the Royal Monastery of our Lady of *Huerta*, a Place renowned betwixt *Castile* and *Aragon*, as seated on the Borders of the Two Kingdoms, through which most that resort to Court do pass. Those Tombs and several authentick Deeds of Lands and Possessions that Monastery enjoys from the Ancestors of *Antony Perez*, will speak for him. I shall only mention, that *Bartholomew Perez*, Grandfather to *Antony Perez*, and Son and Grandson himself to Natives of *Monreal de Ariza*, not to those of *Calatayud*, who are of another Race, was Secretary to the Inquisition, and liv'd and dy'd a Marry'd Man in that Employment. I am particular in this Point, because he having Marry'd at *Segovia* (as is well known in that City) was Suspended from his Office of Secretary of the Inquisition, till his Wife's Pedegree was examin'd as is usual, tho' the Person be never so well known, and after the said Examination, he was restor'd to his Employ, which would not have been done, had there been the least Exception against their Parents, Grandfather, or Grandmother, or other Predecessors yet more remote. *Bartholomew Perez* was Bury'd at *Calaborra*, a City in *Spain*, where what is here deliver'd may be seen upon his Tomb, as also in the Acts of the Inquisition. An Uncle of his was Secretary to the general Inquisition. *Ferome Perez Garcia*, Uncle to *Gonzalo Perez*, was Secretary to Queen *Eleanor of France*, Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, and lies bury'd in the Cathedral of *Lisbon*, whether he was sent upon
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important Affairs, no less than the Marriage of King *Philip*. *Gonzalo Perez* was Son, Grandson, and Nephew to these, sole Secretary of State to King *Philip*, well known to many Princes of several Nations. These were the Ancestors of *Antony Perez*, so Hereditary is his Fidelity and his Merits. How *Antony Perez* came into his Catholick Majesties Service will appear by the third Part of his Memorial, where he gives some Account of it. Now I come to my Relation.

It is to be observ'd that the Catholick King, for very great and urgent Reasons, relating to his own and the Service of the Crown, resolv'd, that the Secretary *John de Escovedo* should be put to Death, without the usual Forms of Imprisonment and Trial, because of the evident and manifest Danger of Commotions in his Kingdoms, if the customary Methods had been us'd at that time, and of much greater, if the Execution were delay'd. The Reasons and Motives that oblig'd the King to do that Act, I refer to the Memorial presented by *Antony Perez*, at his Trial in *Aragon*, omitting them here to avoid repeating the same thing; and the Proofs produc'd there, and the Liberty he took in speaking of him in his Imprisonment, are a manifest Testimony of his Sincerity, and sufficient confusion to him who suffer'd the Execution of his Command to be brought to publick Trial. The King entrusted *Antony Perez* with the care of this Execution, as being the Person who knew the Motives of it. As soon as it was perform'd,

Secretary *Escovedo's* Wife and Children, apply'd to his Catholick Majesty to demand Justice for it, against *Antony Perez*. They further added in their Petition, that they understood he had committed that Murder, by Order, and with the consent of the Princess of *Eboly*. This they did upon Suspicion, that the dead Man's Tongue had been the Cause of his Death ; because he, under the pretence of being a Servant, for he had been so to Prince *Ruy Gomez*, reflected on the Familiarity there was betwixt the Princess of *Eboly* and *Antony Perez*, herein forgetting his Duty and the Respect he ow'd, as having been also Servant to *Gonzalo Perez*, Father to *Antony Perez*. However the eldest Son, when he spoke to the King, could not forbear telling him, that if he had receiv'd any ill Information, touching his Fathers Loyalty, it was altogether false, and malicious. Thus we see the Partridge is not more frightened at the Hawk that is to lay her Pounces on her; than a guilty Conscience is at its own Crimes. The King himself told it *Antony Perez* the very same Day. This suit was promoted and forwarded by *Antony Perez's* Enemies. I mean those who envy'd his Post, and the Favour he was in with his King; who were greater Enemies than those who had been wrong'd and are call'd Mortal. The King, who for weighry Considerations, and several dangerous Consequences, was not displeas'd that the rumor of *Escovedo's* Death, like a Storm should fall any where rather than on himself, easily gave Encouragement to that Complaint, or at least

least put no Stop to it. A Practice natural to some Men, which they call State Policy. Those who back'd the Plaintiffs, or rather carry'd on their own Designs, would not let slip an Opportunity which offer'd so fair, but shrouding their Malice under the Cloak of Compassion, solicited for Justice and Satisfaction. The King, tho' he suffer'd the Complaint to go on, yet delay'd referring it to due course of Law, as well acquainted with the whole Truth. *Antony Perez* went Hand in Hand in all this Affair with the King, as appears by many Papers he presented in Vindication of himself at his Tryal in *Aragon*, and by Two others I will insert here for the satisfaction of such as cannot see Copies of all those, that the Truth of this Matter may appear, and how ill the King was advis'd, in suffering *Antony Perez*, contrary to all Right, to be question'd for that Man's Death; how unjustly he lies under all the Damages occasion'd by it; and how great an Injury is thereby offer'd to the publick Faith, and that in particular betwixt Kings and their Servants. One of these Papers is a Letter from *Bartholomew de Santoyo*, Groom of the Bedchamber to his Catholick Majesty, and very Familiar and Intimate with him, as also a Friend to *Antony Perez* and to his Post about the King. In it, as will appear, he gives an Account, of what was mutter'd against him in the King's Bed-chamber. The Letter is as follows.

SIR,

I deliver'd his Majesty the Dispatch this Page brought me, and he told me it might be return'd. His Majesty, God be prais'd, is better, and is now gone out to take the Air this fair Day, God grant him Health as is for our good. Sir, you know how much I am oblig'd to serve you, and I would have you to understand that my Will much exceeds it, which shall never be wanting with my Life and Fortune. Therefore I think it convenient to give you Notice of what I heard last Night from Three Gentlemen, of those that belong to this Place, tho' I believe you know more of it than they do, yet I have resolv'd to acquaint you with it, to the End, if it be requisite to give any Intelligence, or any thing else that I can do, you may command me, for you may freely trust me with what belongs to you. One of those Gentlemen last Night, said, to the other two. Do not you know the News? Let me tell you Antony Perez's Business grows very hot these Two Days, about Escovedo's saying, that he caus'd his Father to be Murder'd. Upon this every one began to talk according to his Fancy, and I hap'n'd to draw near the Chimney, where they were talking, and he who had spok'n, imagining I had heard something of what he said, desir'd me to come close and hear, and then he repeated what he was saying to the others, adding that Matthew Vasquez knew more of it than any Man, because he had it in hand. I answer'd, Perhaps Matthew Vasquez may know more

more of what is talk'd than I, or any Body else; but I know that *Antony Perez* was at *Alcala* that Holy Week, when it hap'n'd, as he uses to be other Years, and that *Gaspar de Robles* was there with him, when the News was brought, for he had him in his House; and that *Antony Perez* would have set out Post immediatly, to use his Endeavours to discover who had kill'd him; and the same *Gaspar de Robles* hinder'd him, and told him he might take heed, for he would be serv'd so himself, and he had already warn'd them both that they would be Murder'd; and since *Escovedo* would not believe it, he ought now to give Credit to it, having seen such a beginning. Besides this I told them much more, that *Robles* had said to me to this effect, and thus the Discourse ended. I believe there is other Talk of more Moment in those Parts, but none that troubles me more, because this concerns you, which grieves me to the Soul, for the Uneasiness it may give you. Therefore be it as it will, I beseech you always to take special Care of your Person, whom God preserve, as I wish. Sunday, February the 12th. Let this be presently burnt, because it is from the greatest Servant you have.

Antony Perez sent this Letter immediatly to the King, and with his own Hand writ to him on it as follows.

S. C. R. M.

Thus the owner of the Letter has writ to me. This gives me infinite Trouble every Day, which would

would tire a Stone, and it is not convenient these Matters should so long run on after this Manner, and consume me, unless there be some Secret in it which concerns your Majesty's Service, for if that require it, other better Methods may be taken less dishonourable to your Majesty and me.

The King on the Margin answers him as follows,

Believe me, the earnest Desire I have to go thither is for the sake of this Business, and I hope it will have a happy Conclusion, and I am sufficiently fretted, for this Night I have again had more Pain in my Foot, than I had for two Days past, but I hope it will have no Consequence. 'Till I go do you take Care of your self.

This shows that Kings, tho' not good natur'd, of their own proper first Impulse acknowledge Obligations, before Passion and ill Advice has taken Possession of them. Therefore let a Prince's Counsellor take heed what Advice he gives him, and particularly the Favourite in whom he confides, for the Prince's Mistake will be laid to his Charge, and sometimes he shall suffer the Penalty of it.

The other Paper is a Letter from *Antony Perez* to the King, with the Answer under his Hand, wherein they both advise, what should be done with the Petitions presented to the King, concerning the Death of *Escovedo*, and with him that solicited about it. The Letter is as follows,

S. C. R. M.

I do not think it is now proper to refer him, that deliver'd those Petitions, to the President, 'till my Project has been heard. Your Majesty may consider of it, or if he is referr'd, the President must not do any thing, 'till he has heard me. But I should think it better, if your Majesty would put him off with the extraordinary Business depending these Days; and I will acquaint the President with my Project, and the Memoirs, if your Majesty thinks fit this may be done.

The King answer'd him in the Margin with his own Hand these Words.

Metbinks this cannot chuse but be referr'd to the President, even in the Prosecution of the Project you were telling me of to day. But it will be convenient not to do it, 'till I return thither, or set out for Azeca, that you may have Time to speak to the President. If you think it will be convenient so to do, let me know it, that it may be given as soon as I come to Esperanea. And it is proper that you acquaint the President with your Project, and the Memoirs you here mention.

Antony Perez's Contrivance was, that the sute should be referr'd to due course of Law, as far as concern'd him, with Restriction as to the rest concerning the Princess of Eboly, as is usual in such Cases, when the Honour of a Woman, tho' but of indifferent Quality, lies at Stake. Antony Perez assur'd the King there was no Danger of any Discovery of what he apprehended, which was his having order'd the Death
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of *Escovedo*, since none of those who had executed it was taken, and the Plaintiff had no manner of Proof against him. Tho' the King lik'd the Advice, yet he never came to any Resolution. These Delays caus'd his Majesty to be daily more and more press'd by those that demanded Justice, and their Adherents, especially by the Secretary *Matthew Vazquez*, a Man well known by such as were unknown, the Encourager of the Meetings against *Antony Perez*, and the Person who frequently apply'd to the King for Justice, alledging the Scandal that was given. At length the King resolv'd, that *Antony Perez* should first acquaint *D. Antonio de Pazos*, President of the Council of *Castile*, with all the particulars of that Affair, and the Motives for coming to that Resolution, and putting it in Execution, and should then communicate his Project to him. *Antony Perez* did so, and gave him all the Petition that were from time to time deliver'd to the King against himself and the Princess. This done the King and President thought fit to try another Expedient, not well approv'd of by *Antony Perez*. It was that the President should Discourse the eldest Son of the Dead Man, thinking this might be a means to prevent that Cause coming to a Tryal; as also that the said President should speak to *Matthew Vazquez*, as the principal Solicitor in that Persecution. He spoke to the Son first and said, on *Mrs Peter de Escovedo*, the King has refer'd to me these Petitions of yours and your Mothers, wherein you demand Justice for the Death of
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your Father, against Antony Perez, and the Princess of Eboly; and he has commanded me to tell you, that you shall have the utmost Justice done you, without any Exception of Persons, Place, Sex, or Condition. But now I will advise you to take special heed what Grounds you have to go upon, and what Proof you can make, that it may be sufficient to excuse you for provoking Persons of their Rank. For if they are not very convincing, so as to justify your Complaint, the Punishment will fall back upon your own Head, in regard to the Princess's Quality, and the Respect due to her high Rank and Degree, and to Antony Perez his being descended from such ancient Servants to the Crown, and being himself in so honourable a Post. But before you answer me, I tell you as a Friend, and do affirm in verbo Sacerdotis, that the Princess and Antony Perez, are no more guilty of the Fact than I am.

Peter de Escovedo hearing these Words, and having no Proofs to make his Accusation, but his own Suspicion and the support of Antony Perez's Enemies, check'd himself and said. My Lord, since it is so, I ingage my Word, for my self, for my Brother, and for my Mother, that we will not say any thing concerning this Murder against either of them. As soon as this Discourse was over, the President, at the same time sent for Matthew Vazquez the Secretary and said to him. Mr. Matthew Vazquez, you press the King very hard upon this Affair, and I must tell you it is a very scandalous Undertaking for a Priest, who is not in any Employ that
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Peter de Escovedo hearing these Words, and having no Proofs to make his Accusation, but his own Suspicion and the support of Antony Perez's Enemies, check'd himself and said. My Lord, since it is so, I ingage my Word, for my self, for my Brother, and for my Mother, that we will not say any thing concerning this Murder against either of them. As soon as this Discourse was over, the President, at the same time sent for Matthew Vazquez the Secretary and said to him. Mr. Matthew Vazquez, you press the King very hard upon this Affair, and I must tell you it is a very scandalous Undertaking for a Priest, who is not in any Employ that
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that can require it of you, and who is no way akin or oblig'd to the dead Man. Forbear, for this is another Sort of an Affair than you imagine. This which should have confounded and struck them dumb, rather increas'd their Malice and Rage against *Antony Perez*, as discovering to them that he was so highly intrusted by his King, which heightned their Aversion to him, and the desire of dividing into their King's Secret. Thus the same Persons began again to press *Escovedo*, since he had engag'd his Word to desist from that Sute, that he would find out some Kinsman to do it and make a Clamour for Justice. They found one so fit for the purpose, that he met the King daily at every Turn, pressing so hard upon him for Justice, that he often made him Sweat with his tiresome Importunity; as appears by some Papers under the King's Hand to *Antony Perez*, which were presented at the Tryal in *Aragon*. *Antony Perez* repeated his Advice, that he should refer it to due Course of Law, as he had propos'd before, with Respect to the Princess, which would soon put an End to that Trouble, without any hazard to his Majesty's Service, for otherwise, that Conspiracy would never be at an End; or else that he would give him Leave to retire from Court and from his Service, and remove himself from the Hatred and Envy his Favour had produc'd, and his Patience and Irresolution so much heightned. *Antony Perez* seeing himself thus persecuted and worry'd for having serv'd his King, was earnest to have this put in Execution. The King would
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not allow of it, nor loose the Service of *Antony Perez*, but was so averse to his leaving him, that there were extraordinary Circumstances in these Debates, and greater Promises made under the King's own Hand to *Antony Perez*, as appears by several original Papers presented at the Trial, and might be made out by others not presented, the Copies whereof I will not yet give, because they contain other Matters which prove still a greater Trust. Guess what they are, when greater than what is express'd and when an injur'd Man conceals them. However they contain a Promise on the Word of a Gentleman, that he will never forsake him, the King at the same Time intreating, that he will not leave him. It may in a great Measure be gather'd how unwilling the King was that *Antony Perez* should leave his Service, from a Letter of the Princess of *Eboly* to the King, which I shall hereafter insert, because it is pat to the Matter I have in Hand. For it seems the King writ to *D. Gaspar de Quiroga*, Cardinal of *Toledo*, to desire the Princess of *Eboly* in his Name to pacify *Antony Perez*, bidding both of them from his Majesty, promise him mighty Matters, and Favours, and desiring them to ingage for the Performance. This is true, and that they spoke to him and did as directed, and *Antony Perez* submitted to his Kings Will; yet forewarning them that they would see all that natural Serenity and Sunshine converted into a Storm by Malice and Envy. No wonder he should tell them so, for the same he us'd to write to
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the King. He has still by him an original Paper to this Purpose, on Account of a very particular Secret, towards the End whereof he writes to the King these very Words. Sir, *I fear that when I least think of it, I shall be stabb'd by my Enemies, or that they taking the advantage of your Majesties Meekness and relying on your Patience, Envy will at last prevail, and I take this Opportunity to say so much, because I know they never cease.*

The King answers thus on the Margent.

The rest of what you have said here, made me tell you in the other Paper that I suppose you are not in a good Humour, and tho' they do not give over, be you satisfy'd it shall not avail them. But in Truth I know nothing more than I have told and shew'd you. The Paper the King here quotes related to the same secret Affair, for *Antony Perez* writ in it to the same purpose. *Your Majesty may order me to be expos'd to publick Shame, for I believe I shall come to it, in full Payment for all.* And there the King answers. *I suppose you are not in good Humour to day, and do not believe what you write, but quite contrary.* It was not *Antony Perez* alone that knew and fear'd him; tho' all that is known is not fear'd, nor is all that is thought to be known fear'd as it ought to be. Therefore to shew it was not *Antony Perez* alone, who judg'd so of his Disposition, I will communicate a Letter sent to *Antony Perez* by *D. Pedro Faxardo*, *Marquess de los Velez*, a Grandee of Spain, and Person excellently qualify'd by nature and Art,
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Counsellor of State, Lord Steward to Qu. *Anne* of *Austria*, and a great Favourite and Confident of the King's; but as such blasted by Envy, and impatient of the Evil, he left the Court to be cur'd of a tedious and dangerous Distemper. The Marques was *Antony Perez*'s intimate Friend, and sent him the Letter I speak of, on his Journey, the Substance whereof, as will appear, being the Conviction of what I have here spoke of; the thorough Knowledge of that Court, and the earnest Desire of flying from it, and of changing all his great Employments about the King, for some Post remote from him, tho' it were as far as *Peru*. It seems *Antony Perez* in the Course of his Persecutions sent the Letter to the King, adding those Lines that will appear below, with the King's Answer to them, under his own Hand. The Marques dy'd by the way, which is all I shall here say of him, because it concerns my Relation. But by the by, I will advise those who have to do with the Favour of Princes, that they do not confide in Writing, nor rely on the sound of Words, for even this Sense is subject to Delusion, as well as the other Senses, and as the Taste in gilded Poison. The Letter was as follows.

Illustrious Sir,

Since I receiv'd yours at Ocatna, I have not heard any more of your Health, nor was mine then in a Condition to answer you. At present I find my self better with travelling, and have a better Appetite, tho' not so much as to eat Flesh,

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nor is there any here in la Mancha. I endeavour to chear up as much as I can, God order the best; for it has been no small Comfort to me to get away from Court, tho' I am in great Pain for your Business, which I may rather call my own.

I think the Lord Archbishop of Toledo's Business about his Cardinals Cap is ended, which I am very glad of. I desire you will congratulate him for your Self and for your Friends. I give him joy of it in a Letter by Mercado. Neither am I less pleas'd at Ferdinand de Escobar's Vacancy, with whom I rejoyce for it.

I kiss your Hands for the Enamel, for I was sensible of the Difficulty there was of getting any such thing at Burgos.

I travel but slowly, and therefore fear I shall not get to my House till the middle of the next Month, and that so discontented and uneasy in Mind that my Friends will scarce know me. I am much displeas'd at all things, and my only Comfort is, that my Absence has put me out of the Reach of the hatred the Court bears me; and believe me it is not to be endur'd by any honest Man; for if you have not the Princes Favour all Men will trample on you, and if you have it they will take away your Life and Honour, without your being able to help your self; and you may be Dead and loose all, before the endless Precautions and Reflections will produce any Resolution. Do not wonder Sir to find me so full of these Deliriums, for this long Journey affords me Leisure to consider of all things, and
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among the rest I often think on that Business beyond Sea. I intreat you not to omit taking it sometimes into Consideration, that it may serve upon Occasion; for I assure you I often cast my Eye even upon Peru, and it looks to me but like no distant Banishment. I again desire you to consider of it all, for my Friendship deserves it, tho' my Actions are of no Worth. But after all we have all taken Root there, and I believe we are false to one another, every one believing he has found the Pearl in the Gospel, and our Affection breaks loose from all Things and all Men. Thus much may suffice for one that knows more of the Matter than my self.

I take Care of my Health, and sometimes divert my self with the Present of the Piece of Antiquity, you gave me at Pinto, which I believe you would not have parted with, had you known the Value of it. From hence forward I shall divert my self with * Perez, if Health will permit. God preserve your Illustrious Person is the Wish of your Servant the Marquess Lord Lieutenant. From Inojosa, Jan. 26, 1579.

On this Letter Antony Perez writ the following Words to the King.

The Marquess sent me this Letter, when he was on his Journey, and I kept it to show to your Majesty, on Account of what he talks of beyond the Sea and of Peru. But now I send it on Account of what he mentions of things

* A Secretary the Marquess begg'd of him, that he might write to him safely.

here among us, which I believe to be true. For now they are very urgent with the * Archbishop, and press hard upon me exposing me in Publick.

The King with his own Hand answer'd as follows.

I do not understand those Words of something beyond the Sea and Peru. As for the rest I suppose Sickness help'd to make him peevish. I do not know how you are in Health since the other Day, for you give me no Account of it. I design to go on Saturday, and we will order all things as shall be convenient, and you shall not be expos'd in Publick. I keep the Portuguese Paper you sent me with this, as also the Letters from Italy, because I could not peruse them to Day, by reason there has been a Sermon, and I have been above Two Hours with F. Ferdinand del Castillo, I will endeavour to do it to Morrow; as also a Packet from Denetiers, for to Day I could not possibly, and had only time to view and answer some Dispatches touching the present Affairs of Portugal. I give you no Account of it, because you will see it, and I have not Leasure, and because an Express is to be sent with it. I send you the Letters I kept Yesterday, and have noted down what Answer I think fit should be given to D. Christopher, which may be writ immediately, that it may go with the same Express. It is

* They apply'd to the Archbishop, not to make use of Antony Perez's Country-house as he did.

*fit the Duke have a gracious Answer, and that under your own Hand, if you are in a Condition so to do, as I hope you are, and if not under * Escobar's.*

Antony Perez's Enemies suspecting this Intimacy, and believing that he was as much in his Princes Favour as before, they began again to urge the Death of *Escovedo*; for no Poison does so rake the Bowels like Envy, especially when it proceeds from a Prince's Favour; as if that were not itself the most active Poison. If this be not allow'd, let any Man tell me how many Favourites in such Times escape a violent Death, or at least dying for Fear of it, especially under such Kings as a † certain Person meant, when he said, *There were scarce two Inches betwixt their Smiles and the Axe.* The King was more uneasy every Day than other, and *Antony Perez's* Enemies the more irresolute they found his Majesty, the more they press'd him, and daily engag'd themselves deeper and deeper against the said *Perez*, and the Princess of *Eboli*, because they imagin'd She favour'd his Affairs with the King. Some of them on the one side hotly pursu'd the Cry of Justice, whilst *Matthew Vasquez* and his Party on the other rail'd at the Princess. This went so high, that She was oblig'd to have Recourse to the King, and to demand Satisfaction for the Affront done her

* This *Escobar* is the Priest spoken of hereafter, who decipher'd the Letters from *D. John of Austria* and *Escovedo*.

† The Earl of *Chinchon*.

by his Servants, but yet privately in the same Letter She writ to the King concerning *Antony Perez's* Affairs, which tho' I would not communicate before, I have now resolv'd to insert part of it. This Letter will the better make out what I said before, of the Danger there is in Fortunes Favours, or rather in those of Kings, who are not all of the same Temper, tho' their Station and Fortune be the same. It will also show how little Trust and Confidence is to be repos'd in the Merit of past Services. The whole Letter is very fit to be observ'd for the Understanding of what I have in hand, and put to the Account I am to give; much like a Lady of her Quality in its Method and Language, and writ to a King, who had been her Husbands familiar Friend, upon a Demand of Satisfaction. Let no Man admire that *Antony Perez* should have this original Letter, for the King gave it him, with his own Hand, the same Day he receiv'd it. So great was the Familiarity betwixt King and Subject even in the latter Days. The Letter was as follows.

S I R,

In regard your Majesty commanded the Cardinal of Toledo, to discourse me on the Affairs of Antony Perez, that I might endeavour to persuade him, I have apply'd my self to it, after a far different manner than I intended, for it could no way suite with an Innocent Man, after many Persecutions to be so left to the wide World without Honour, or Peace of Mind, nor could any Per-

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son reasonably perswade him to it; but your Majesties Service is above all other Considerations. Your Majesty may remember, that in some of my Papers I have given you an Account of what Matthew Vazquez and his Party said, That they lost your Majesties Favour, who were known to have been in my House. Since then I am inform'd they have gone farther and say, That Antony Perez kill'd Escovedo on my Account, and he is so much oblig'd to my Family, that had I ask'd it of him, he were oblig'd to do it. Now since these People have gone so far, and their Boldness and Impudence has spread so far, your Majesty, as a King and as a Gentleman is oblig'd to make such an Example of them, that it may be known as far as their Offence. And if your Majesty shall be of another Opinion, and will have the Honour of this House be lost, as the Estate of my Ancestors has been, and the Prince's Favour they have so well deserv'd, and that this be the Reward of their Services; however, what I have said will be to your Majesty a Discharge of the Duty I owe to my self. I beseech your Majesty to return me this Paper, since what I have said in it, has been as to a Gentleman, and relying on you, as such, and out of the Sense of so great a Wrong. Your Majesty will be pleased to take Notice, that it is very ill for me to have my Memorials seen, and that the President is very high with me about a Paper I writ to your Majesty concerning the Bribes of ——— and he says ——— as also about some thing the Duke of ——— said in Relation to the Justice of my Cause; which suffers so much

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under your Majesties Diffavour, that tho' the Right is plain on my side, and you know what a Court that is, Judg^{mt} shall be given and I shall be dispossessed. And tho' due Methods have been used with others, yet I am so unhappy, and your Majesty is so bent Upon discountenancing me, that the President says, the Reason why I fare worse than others is, because your Majesty will have it so, and whereas it ought to have been re-ferr'd to him, your Majesty order'd it should be re-ferr'd to the Court of Justice which was never done in the like Case. If I Complain to Fuenmayor of four several Demurs, without any Reasons shewn, yet they are presently allow'd, and tho' there were sufficient Reasons for them, the Delays are such that no Man living can see the End of it; and he sends me Word by Melchior de Herrera that he knows I am in the right, but he Swears and Vows your Majesty will have it so; and that he sending you a Memorial from Don Innigo, you answer'd, why do you suffer me to be twice apply'd to on this Account; do what is here desir'd out of hand. And therefore the Admiral requires Don Innigo should perform his Promise, and it concerns me much that he should lay hold of the Security my Children and I have for Don Innigo, and for his own Performance, and that he depart Valladolid upon this Account, as they use to be taken thence and sent to some strong Hold. Don Antonio de Padilla says it is so, but that your Majesty bid him do nothing in the case, and therefore it was not done. Now Sir,

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if all these Persons give me this Account, no Wonder if I give over the Sute, for I may e'en at once abandon my Children and all I have, which would put an end to so much hard Usage. For I must be bold to tell your Majesty, that when I consider how little my Husband deserv'd it, I am very often almost distracted. But the Impudence of that Dog of a Moor your Majesty has in your Service, will bring me to my Wits again. I must again mind your Majesty not to suffer this, or any Paper of mine to fall into that Man's Hands. And if your Majesty will make him so much a Gentleman, that you will not understand who I mean, I mean —

His Majesty finding himself daily more and more press'd, on the one Hand about the Death of Escovedo, and on the other by the Complaints of the Princess of Eboly for the Wrongs done her; he resolv'd in the first Place to seek his own Ease and Benefit, which is the utmost End of the Wisdom of this World. He order'd his Confessor *F. James de Chaves* to speak to the Princess, and to tell her, *That if her Complaint were well groundd, she should declare it.* She answer'd, *It was very well known, for Words made a Noise wheresoever they were let slip, and they had pass'd through so many Mouthes, that there could be no want of Witnesses.* The Confessor again desir'd her to name Witnesses to her Complaint. She said, *The King was so well convinc'd of the Truth, that he ought not to require any Witnesses but himself.* The Princess advis'd with the Cardinal of Toledo about the Matter,

Matter, and the Answers She had given. The Cardinal sent her word, *That She should name Witnesses, and particularly name him.* So the third Time the Princess told the Confessor, that those who kept good Accounts, could soon produce Vouchers, and then She nam'd the Cardinal of *Toledo* and *F. Ferdinand del Castillo*, the King's Preacher, a Person of great Worth, and in the greatest Esteem of any of his Profession and Order, not only among *Spaniards*, but among all Nations that resorted to the Court of *Spain*, both which Persons knew the whole Truth. The Confessor went to them, they told him what they knew. The Confessor was surpriz'd at what he heard, which the King knew better than any Man, as shall appear in the Sequel; and therefore he pitch'd upon another Expedient, which was to reconcile the Princess of *Eboly* and *Matthew Vasquez*, by the Mediation of the said Confessor. The Princess answer'd, *That She had done her part, and the King knew it, and his Majesty might do as he thought fit. That no other Punishment could be naturally inflicted for complaining, either with or without Cause, but the giving of no Satisfaction.* As to the Reconciliation She answer'd, *That it did not become her Quality to treat of Reconciliation with so mean a Person, nor would the Offence allow of it.* Whilst this Negotiation was carrying on, the King and Confessor believing that the Princess having a Kindness for *Antony Perez*, would be the better prevail'd upon to Pardon *Matthew Vasquez*, if *Antony Perez*

rez ceas'd his Complaint against him, they again took in hand to reconcile them. *Perez* on his side, besides the just Resentment for the Wrongs done the Princess of *Eboly*, as particularly oblig'd to her on Account of the great Friendship betwixt him and her Husband, which was well known in *Spain* and other Countries, had his own Quarrel for the Conspiracy carry'd on against him by *Matthew Vasquez* about the Death of *Escovedo*, as also for a particular Wrong added to the rest, of a Pasquin, or scandalous Letter foisted into a Packet directed to *Antony Perez* for the King. This particular is very well worth knowing, as well as the rest I shall add to show the Reality of the Princess of *Eboly's* Complaints, and how well acquainted the King was with the Truth. As soon as *Antony Perez* receiv'd the Packet, he lay'd hold of the Letter and read it. He presently perceiv'd whose it was, went to the King and read it to him. The King would read it himself and observe the Hand. *Antony Perez* would not let it go out of his Hands. The King ask'd for it, promising on the Word of a Gentleman to restore it to him. He read it again before *Antony Perez*, and perceiv'd whose it was. To prove the Truth of this Matter, I will here set down a Letter from *Antony Perez* to the King on Account of this Pasquin, with his Majesties Answer under his own Hand on the Margent.

The Copy of a Letter from *Antony Perez* to the Catholick King.

I return your Majesty the Presidents Dispatch
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concerning the Affairs of Navarre, and your Majesty may believe my Blood is all in a Ferment at what I see is now in Agitation, and have told your Majesty every Day that delay would produce greater Inconveniencies, and now your Majesty finds it ; and therefore beg you will come to some Resolution, or else give me leave to take my own Satisfaction. If what has already hapned be not sufficient to produce a positive Resolution and severe Punishment, I shall believe there is * Witchcraft in it, especially considering that my ill Fate prevails above my Services, perform'd to the best of my Ability, yet with true Zeal and Fidelity, and with such Testimonies of your Majesties Favour and Approbation ; and that the other Man's good Fortune surmounts so many Crimes committed by him, and such Wrongs offer'd to the Honour of such a Lady, and to a Man who has been always desirous to serve, and has hazarded so much in it as I have done. No more least my Heart break.

The King with his own Hand answer'd in the Margent as follows.

I return you the President's Dispatch, for it is in no haste, if I remember right, and I must know of you, how those Affairs of Navarre stand, therefore put me in Mind some Day, that we may see what Answer is fit to send him. I believe I tell you in the other Paper I send you here, that I had not seen this, when I writ that to which you answer in this I now send. The Satisfa-

* Here is a Secret which he explains in another Place.

tion you here speak of is no way Convenient, and you are sensible yourself how Prejudicial it would be a Thousand several ways, your own Wisdom and Discretion must convince you in this Point. Besides, that what Satisfaction is reasonable shall be given by me. It is not proper to break your Heart, tho' it were only to avoid giving that Satisfaction to those that would be pleas'd at it. I have not had Courage enough to look upon the Business that Man has in Hand for private Persons.

These Papers are a sufficient Testimony of the Wrong done to the Princess of *Eboly*, of the Reasonableness of her Complaint, that the King had taken upon him the Injury offer'd by the *Pasquin*, and that he was convinc'd whose it was, and that he ought to make himself a Party; for there is no Judge, tho' never so upright, but is more touch'd by the Affront offer'd to himself, than by that which is done to Justice. For the better understanding of those last Words of the Kings, *That he had not the Courage to look upon the Business of private Persons*, It is to be observ'd that his Majesty in one of the other Papers, mention'd by him in this, writ to *Antony Perez*, *That before any Punishment were inflicted on Matthew Vasquez for that Letter or Pasquin, it were fit, to dispatch the Business of private Persons he had depending. Because, said the King, if he were begun to be prosecuted, it would put a Stop to the Affairs of many Men. Therefore it is as the King says, He had not*
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the Courage to look upon those Affairs of private Men, that Person had in his Hands.

Now to conclude with this Part, which is so full of Intrigue, and has been the Source of many more ; the Confessor went on with the Affair of the Reconciliation above-mention'd, being quite a Stranger to what pass'd betwixt the King and *Antony Perez* in Private. The Princess answer'd as has been said. *Antony Perez*, That he discharg'd the King from his Promise of Satisfaction, for what he knew, and forgave his Injuries, since the King would put up his own, only on Condition that he would give him leave to withdraw, and remove himself from such Persecution, as a Token of his Favour, and in Lieu of an honourable Discharge. The King finding himself so hard press'd by those that demanded Justice for the Death of *Escovedo*, by the Princess's Complaints, and by his own Word given to *Antony Perez*, that he should have Satisfaction for the Pasquin, advis'd with the Confusion these things put him into, and to ease himself of such weighty Obligations, laid hold of the pretended Reconciliation, and at last came to that hard Resolution of arresting *Antony Perez* and the Princess of *Eboly* at the same Time, which notorious and scandalous Act, in the Eyes of all the World, was perform'd on the 28 of *July*, 1579. Whence this harsh Resolve on so slight an Occasion, as a Reconciliation with such an inferior Person, should proceed, is not easy to guess. I will set down some private Guesses then made, which is all the Liberty left in such Times, and every
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Man may Judge as he shall think fit; for the Resolves of an Arbitrary Power are not easily to be comprehended by Reason and human Judgment. Some said it proceeded from the King's being offended at the ancient and continual Reserv'dness of the Princess of *Eboly*, which he interpreted Contempt, which is naturally the greatest Provocation and the most resented by the greatest Persons. Some from a disgust of Anger conceiv'd against *Antony Perez*, for an imaginary Jealousy, which yet was not to be imagin'd by a Crown'd-head, or any other Person; but perhaps it was the Effect of an eager Desire of what I have now hinted, for one Disappointment of that Nature makes a Man more uneasy than a Thousand Wrongs; and that the King laid hold of the Pretence of a Reconciliation to be reveng'd of them both, * of the one for what was not granted, of the other for what he never receiv'd, nor enjoy'd. Others alledg'd he did it, because he knew not how to come off from the Business of the Murder of *Escovedo*, and that he thought by imprisoning of the Two to ease himself of that Burden and of other Obligations already mention'd. Others that all these Considerations together prevail'd upon him to come to that Resolution. This I know, besides what has been said, that the King acquainted No-body with the Arrest, but his Confessor, *F. James de Chaves*, and the Earl of *Barajas*,

† An obscure Hint that the King was offended because he could not Debauch the Princess and was Jealous of *Perez*.

then Lord Steward to Queen *Anne* of *Austria*, who were both ignorant of the Secret of that Affair and of the Motives of *Escovedo's* Death; and that he did not communicate it to *D. Antonio de Pazos*, President of *Castile*, whom his Majesty had before inform'd of the whole Truth, Merits, and Demerits, of the Cause. The pretence the King took for the Arrest at the time of its Execution, was the Reconciliation above-mention'd. To prove this I will impart some of one of the Letters he writ to several Grantees of *Castile* that same Night,

A Copy of his Catholick Majesties Letter to the Duke *Del Infantado*.

The King.

Cousin, I suppose you have already heard that there has been some Difference and Disagreement betwixt Antony Perez and Matthew Vasquez, my Secretary, in which the Authority of the Princess of Eboly has interven'd, for whom I have had all the Regard that is due on account of her Kindred, and of her having been Wife to Ruy Gomez, who serv'd me so faithfully, and for whom I had the Kindness you well know. Now I having deserv'd to be acquainted with the Cause of it, that I might apply the due Remedy, to the End it might be perform'd with convenient Secrecy, and being well satisfy'd of the Worth of F. James de Chaves, my Confessor, I order'd him in my Name to speak to the Princess and to know of her what Complaint she had against Matthew Vasquez, and how grounded; which he did and for the Proof spoke

to other Persons, nam'd by her, and not finding it so well grounded as it ought to be, he labour'd with her, pursuant to my Commission, to put a stop to that Grudge, that it might go no further; and that the said Antony Perez and Matthew Vasquez, should be reconcil'd because it was so convenient for my Service, and their own Advantage. I being inform'd that the Princess obstructed it, my said Confessor spoke to her sometimes, to prevail with her to be assisting to my just Desires; and perceiving that she was so far from complying, that she rather us'd too much Liberty, I have therefore for her own Good been oblig'd to order her this Night to be taken up and carry'd to the Castle of Pinto; whereof I have thought fit, as is but reasonable, to give you an Account, being so near akin to her, that you may be inform'd of it, and that no Man is more desirous of her Quiet, and the good Government and Advantage of her Family and Preferment of her Children. Madrid July 29, 1579.

The King writ to the same Effect to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Princess's Son in Law. I had the Copy of the said Duke's Answer, which I will insert here and is as follows.

S. C. R. M.

Your Majesties Commands are always so well grounded on Reason, that I should have given it for granted there was more than sufficient to justify this important Action, tho' I had not receiv'd the extraordinary Favour of your Majesties Letter. I have already acquainted your Majesty, that when I receiv'd this News I was

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troubled with the Gout, which I had been wholly a Stranger to before; but I shall now feel the Effects of it both in Body and Soul; for even that is affected by Honour, which sometimes goes beyond it. Whosoever serves your Majesty and depends on you, is safe in all Respects, and cannot be so capable of asking, as your Majesty is ready to Favour, so that the Example may appear greater in the Satisfaction than in the Punishment. This is what I beg of your Majesty, whose Royal Person God preserve, &c.

Tho' it be a Matter of small Moment, yet I will mention one particular, which is, that these Letters being carry'd to the King to Sign, at the same time that the Arrest was to be made, he mended them with his own Hand, and they were fain to be writ out fair, because the Copies brought him, nam'd the Secretary *Matthew Vazquez* before *Antony Perez*. In short, they that were wrong'd and abus'd were cast into Prison, for at such times Debtors are safer than their Creditors. What *Antony Perez* had from one that was familiar in the King's Bed-chamber, is very well worth knowing, for at present no more must be publish'd for the sake of some Persons Living, and the Nature of the things themselves. The Case was, that the King himself on the Night of the Arrest at that unseasonable Hour, was at *St. Maries*, the great Church of *Madrid*, over-against the Princess of *Eboly's* House, Incognito in a Porch, to see the Arrest put in Execution, and after that walking about in his Bed-chamber, till Five of the Clock

Clock in the Morning, in great Disorder for what had been done ; for this also was told him, and might well be believ'd of the King, tho' † such a Man had not told it, since he would go abroad at that time of Night. For Princes are as much Subject to their Passions as we, and much more, the more they conceal them from the World, on account of the Divinity they represent and affect. Nay more they are Subject to Fortune, as well as we, for tho' sometimes she suffers herself to be led by them, yet at other times she commands them, as well as others ; and Kings as well as others, ought to be fearful of her and her Mutability, and of venturing upon violent Remedies ; because Fortune, when she has done her Work, like the Physician when he has administred and given the Poison, for all the Gifts of Fortune are Venemous, then she steps aside and leaves Nature to produce its proper Effects, and Nature uses its absolute Power over all Men, without Respect of Persons.

The very Day after the Arrest, the Cardinal of Toledo went in Person by the King's Order to visit Donna Joanna Coello, Wife to Antony Perez, and to tell her from him, *That his Majesty had order'd him to visit her, and bid her not be concern'd at what she had seen done to her Husband, for there was nothing in it to trouble her, either as to Life or Honour, or any*

† The Person that told Antony Perez was Sebastian de Santoyo who was with the King all the while.

more than the aforesaid Reconciliation; and that she should be of good Heart, and rest satisfy'd that all had been done was for their Good, and to avoid greater Inconveniencies. He stay'd with her a long time, comforting her, and dilating upon what has been said. *Antony Perez* continu'd a Prisoner about Four Months at *Madrid*, in an *Alcalde de Corte's* House. Thither *F. James de Chaves*, the King's Confessor, went to visit him, a Fortnight after he was taken up. All the Court was amaz'd at these Two Visits, all Men with Reason believing that such Visits and from such Persons, could not be made to a Criminal, or one that was Guilty of any Offence against his King, especially considering the Purport of them, as above. For the Confessors Visit was to the same Effect as the Cardinals to the Wife, that is, to comfort and acquaint him with the Cause of his Imprisonment, assuring him that the Distemper, as they say, was not Mortal. *Antony Perez* was further inform'd in his Confinement, by a Servant of the *Alcalde* in whose House he was, and whose Confident the said Servant was, by such means as is usual among Men of that Sort, because their natural Inclinations are under a greater restraint than in other Men. This Servant acquainted him, that the King in his Orders to the *Alcalde* was very careful of *Antony Perez*, his Health and good Usage, even to the ordering that his Son and Daughter, which were then Children should be carry'd to divert him. Nay, he was

* An Officer like a Judge in the King's Court.

so particular as to enquire whether he complain'd, and what he said. I declare that *Antony Perez* saw the Orders, and had them in his Hands to this effect. From the *Alcalde's* House, he was remov'd to his own Lodging, because he was fallen Sick. Six or Seven Days after *Don Rodrigo Manuel* Captain of his Catholick Majesties Guards went to his House to visit him. This Visit was to take a solemn Engagement from *Antony Perez*, that he would be Friends with the Secretary *Matthew Vasquez*. *Antony Perez* solemnly engag'd to *Don Roderick Manuel* in the nicest Form, that no Harm should come to *Matthew Vasquez* by him, his Kindred, or Friends. Every body thought this had put an End to that Business. But it being an Affair that had no Beginning, there or elsewhere, it could not conclude in that or any other End. *Antony Perez* continu'd a Prisoner under a Guard, in his own House Six or Eight Months. When that time was expir'd the Guard was taken off, and he had Liberty allow'd him to go abroad to Mass, and to Walk, and to receive Visits, but he not to visit any Body. A Condition which, as unusual, all Men made Reflections on. The King went away for *Portugal*. *Antony Perez* was left at *Madrid* in his House, under that Sort of Confinement, and no Innovation was made in his Employment. All Business ran through the Hands of his under Secretaries, in so much, that some of them went with the King, and some of them remain'd in *Madrid* to receive all Orders, and show them to the Counsellors of State left there, and then send them back to the

King. Thus *Antony Perez* continu'd till the End of the Year 1585, the Office being kept in his House, and at his Expence. Perceiving he was thus forsaken, and as it were enchanted, he resolv'd to send some Friends to the King, who being put off from time to time, he sent *F. Rengifo*, a Reverend Religious Man to know what the King would Order, and beg of him to come to some Resolution. He heard him, and did it as often as he desir'd Admittance, but still all was Delays. At length he resolv'd to send his own Wife, but not without the Advice of *Don Antonio de Pazos* President of *Castile*. Before she got to *Lisbon*, the King order'd the *Alcalde Texada* to go and Arrest her. He seiz'd her betwixt *Lisbon* and *Aldea Gallega*, on the Sea, or River, with a great Noise and Disturbance, and abundance of Boats and People that flock'd to see it. She was taken on the Sea, being Eight Months gone with Child. She Miscarry'd there on the Sea with the Hubub and Fright of that Severity. The *Alcalde* carry'd her back to *Aldea Gallega*, and left her in a Lodging. There he examin'd her very formally, what she went about, whether by her Husband's Order, what Instructions she had and the like. These indeed were heavy Charges before God and Man; had they not been represented as such by the Malice of Enemies to the Prince. The *Alcalde* went back to the King very proud of this great Piece of Service, and relying on the Merit of it, to give him an Account of his glorious Expedition. In Testimony of his Exactness he deliver'd to him

him the Examination of the Unfortunate Lady that had Miscarry'd. The King instead of thanking the *Alcalde*, as he expected, took the Examination, and without looking upon the *Alcalde*, threw it into the Fire and saw it burnt, but said not a Word to the *Alcalde*. This Examination and Wrong will be try'd by another Fire. The *Alcalde* himself gave this Account, and said he was astonish'd and went his way; adding that this had altogether amaz'd and confounded him, so that he knew not what to say, or think of *Antony Perez's* Affairs. The Conclusion of this violent Action was, that the King order'd F. Rengifo, to go to *Antony Perez's* Wife, and tell her from him, *That she might return Home, for he promis'd her as a King, and upon the Word of a Gentleman, that he would Dispatch her Husband's Business, as soon as he came to Madrid.* Roderick Vasquez gave F. Rengifo the same Orders from the King, and show'd them to him under his Majesties Hand. This the Religious Man told *Antony Perez* by way of Answer from them. This Religious Man is one of the most considerable of his Order, and a Gentleman Born.

Things being in this Posture, the Inventors and Advisers of the first Arrest and *Antony Perez's* Enemies, being once engag'd and dreading the Evil Consequences of the Injury offer'd to such a Person as the Princess for her great Quality and Condition, and to *Antony Perez*, who was also considerable in himself, for his Fortune, for being in the same Post his Father had, for

the King's Favour, and the general Affection of the People, well known in several Nations, and for his Parents and Ancestors Services, they therefore contriv'd that the first Miscarriage should be prosecuted, and palliated by others. To this purpose they invented the Inquest against him and other Secretaries, whom perhaps they would never have thought of, had it not been to shroud their Malice against *Antony Perez*, under the Number of others. This sort of Tryal is us'd in the Court of *Spain*, and some of its Kingdoms; and is a Judicature kept open for private Information during a Year or Years against the Person they design to Disgrace. A Tryal in which they give no Copy of the Proceedings, nor produce Witnesses, but only the Accusations in general, and God help every Man for making his Defence. A Tryal at which for the most part they only examine Enemies, and the more they are so the better. *Antony Perez* was inform'd by a Witness summon'd in to be examin'd to some Points, that they would not write down his Deposition, because he urg'd not any Matter of Moment against him, tho' sundry Means had been us'd to prevail upon him so to do. These Things sure never came to that Kings Ears, or if he heard them, could he choose but be concern'd and offended at such judicial Proceedings, and to see the natural Rules of Justice so openly inverted, tho' it were but only for his own Conveniency; because it is a saying, That Kingdoms last no longer than Justice continues in them. The Accusations in the Inquest were rather an Honour

Honour to *Antony Perez*, than any Reflections on him or his Services, but an Affront to the Princess, for this was the Aim, as it was to attack them both, and discover their own Malice, as the said Allegations made out. Most of them consisted in Gifts from *Don John of Austria*, the Catholick Kings (Bastard) Brother, from the Princess of *Eboly*, from the Cardinal of *Toledo* and other Persons of Quality. I will not speak particularly to all these Accusations, but to the first and the two last. To the first, that by it, what the others are may the better appear, and of the two last to show what an Age it is when Merits are urg'd as Offences. The first Thing laid to the Charge of *Antony Perez* was, that he had receiv'd 10000 Crowns from the great D. of *Tuscany*, *Francis de Medicis*, as due for the Investiture of *Siena*. It is true he receiv'd them, but it was for Fees due for that Dispatch, and so due, that whereas there had been but one Investiture given, when the Catholick King bestow'd the State of *Siena* in Fief on the great Duke of *Florence*, *Cosmo di Medicis*, it was put to the Vote in the Council of State, whether the same Fees should be taken for the Second Investiture of his Son *Francis*, and it was carry'd in the Affirmative. Of which, to show the Uprightness of human Judgments, the Catholick King had 5000 for the Great Seal. This appear'd upon Record in the Books of the Kings Privy Purse, and that they were receiv'd for him and by his Order by *Sebastian de Santoyo*, Deputy Privy Purse, and who kept the Book of the Receipt and Expence; as also in the Books of

Antony

Antony Spinola, that he pay'd them for *Antony Perez*. This is Matter of Fact, as it is that he deliver'd in a Certificate of it under the Hand of *Sebastian de Santoyo*. So that the King instead of 5000 which were his due, pocketed up 15000, whereof the 10000 so dearly brought as with the Shame of the Accusation and Judgment of the Inquest. Nay more there was found a Note under the King's Hand to the Duke of *Francavilla*, Prince of *Melito*, President of the Council of *Italy*, and Counsellor of State, which made out what is here said. *Donna Joanna Coello* sent this Note to the King by *D. Christopher de Mora*, after Judgment past by the Inquest, to show how much Justice was done her Husband, and how much he was oblig'd to him, for obeying his Confessors Commands and Order, that he should not produce any thing under the King's Hand in his Justification. The King return'd *Donna Joanna* the Note by the said *D. Christopher*, for her to show it to the Confessor. She did so, rather in Obedience to the King, than for any Redress she expected, for this could not retrieve so many Losses, nor she expect any Satisfaction from him who had a Hand in the greatest Mischief. She carry'd it to the Confessor, who would have her leave it, for him to view at Leisure; but it so disorder'd him, that he kept it, and afterwards utterly deny'd it. Besides, all that has been here said, as God often permits for the Confusion of such unjust Judgments, it hap'n'd that *Francis de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuscany* dying, his Brother *Ferdinand*

dinand sent according to Custom to ask the third Investiture of *Siena* of his Catholick Majesty, which was pass'd and they again receiv'd the 10000 Ducats for Fees of him, which were pay'd and plac'd to Account. That Men may dread human Judgments when they have Justice on their Side, and may not despair, if they want it. Nay more, they sent, by Order of the Council of State, to consult *Antony Perez*, about the Manner of granting the Investiture. There are still Witnesses alive, and he has the Letters to prove it, that tho' shut up and almost bury'd, yet that Man was advis'd with. The two last Accusations were, first that he had discover'd Secrets of his Office, and in the next Place that he added and diminished in the Dispatches that came for the King in *Cyphers*. These are Charges which cannot be legally lay'd on a Man, nor oblige him to clear himself, because they are general, besides that they were wrongful, as was then made out and shall be shown here. Nevertheless he then answer'd to them in general Terms, and some Instances of great Secrets and Misteries those Charges touch'd upon, which he then had in his Power to discharge himself, saying, That he could not therefore come to particulars in his Defence. He sent to acquaint the King, how prejudicial it was to his Service to suffer the Malice and Prejudice of Ministers to touch upon such dangerous Matters. Besides the Application *Antony Perez* made to his Catholick Majesty on this Account,

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in Respect to the Detriment of his Service,) which he always regarded more than his own Danger ; he did the same with the King's Confessor, the better to put a Stop to the Inconveniency that threatned, and for his own Justification, whatsoever should happen, this being a Matter of such Nicety, and in which the Visitor had plung'd himself so inconsiderately, believing he had gain'd a great Point against *Antony Perez* in those Accusations. In short, *Antony Perez* shew'd *F. James de Chaves* a convincing Testimony of his Sincerity, for till then the Confessor was Ignorant of those Misteries, and he laid before him Part of the Papers under the King's Hand now mention'd, and others, in which he commanded him to add and diminish, and alter Things in the Dispatches that came from Ministers, that they might appear in the Council of State, as was thought convenient at the Time. This was a Thing frequently us'd in that Court, and 'tis likely is so in all others, that Caution being due to the Nature of the greatest Affairs and the Diversity of Mens Inclinations, and so the Degree of Confidence the Prince reposes in every Councillor. Besides that, it was very requisite so to do at that Time, considering the extraordinary Business and Misteries that then pass'd betwixt the King and the Subject. *F. James de Chaves*, who was the Principal Adviser of the first Arrest, and one of the Judges of the Inquest, being sensible of the Fault that was committed in bringing such Matters before a Court, contriv'd, to bring all off, that *Antony Perez* should not discharge

charge himself by Papers under the King's Hand, but suffer himself to be cast defenceless, thus to rectify the Faults of others at his Expence, and he was order'd so to do, and his Wife *Donna Joanna Coello* was commanded to tell him so. *F. James de Chaves* himself own'd it in his Depositions taken at the Request of *Antony Perez* in the Court of *Aragon*. So that, tho' there were not so many other Reasons to conclude that *Antony Perez* was wrong'd in that Tryal, this last is sufficient, that he was forbid making his Defence; and he who is not allow'd to vindicate himself is suppos'd Innocent. Baron *Keveniler* the Emperor's Embassador in the Court of *Spain* is a Witness of the Endeavours us'd by *Antony Perez* to prevent coming to the Discovery of such Secrets. Nor is he a Witness only to this Truth, but of many other Trusts and Intimacies, which prove what a different Account was made of *Antony Perez*, even whilst the Inquest was depending and when Judgment given; which Circumstances are directly opposite in themselves. And so opposite that the same Person can testify that the King, and his spiritual Director his Confessor gave their Word, that *Antony Perez's* Troubles should end very much to his Advantage, and that there were Proposals of Accommodation betwixt the King and his Subjects, besides, those Treaties and Bargains before-mention'd betwixt the Cardinal of *Toledo* and the Princess of *Eboly*, before her Imprisonment, after the Inquest was begun, in Consideration of his Merits and Services, and of
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the Losses sustain'd and Injuries done him. The Two last Accusations were grounded on some Letters, which *Peter de Escovedo*, Son to the Secretary *Escovedo*, shew'd to the Visitor, from *Antony Perez* to the Secretary *John de Escovedo*, in which were these Two Particulars. First, he gave him an Account of what was transacting in the Council of State concerning *Don John of Austria*, who being a Member of that Council, and *Escovedo* Secretary to him and to his Catholick Majesty, was no great Crime. Nay it was so far from being any Offence, that his King himself commanded him so to do for greater Ends, as will appear by the Memorial, which *Antony Perez* presented in *Aragon*. The other was that he writ to *Don John of Austria* and *Escovedo*, that he had added and diminish'd and made Alterations in some of *Don John's* Letters to the King, what he thought convenient, according as *Don John* and *Escovedo* themselves desir'd him to do by Letters under their Hands. These were the Grounds of the Two Accusations, and the Truth of what I deliver is made out by *Antony Perez's* Vindication at his Tryal at *Zaragoza*.

In short, *Antony Perez* obey'd the Confessors Commands that he should not clear himself, and did not so much as open his Mouth, and in requital for his Obedience he was adjudg'd, To be suspended from his Office for Ten Years, to pay Thirty odd Thousand Ducats, to be Imprison'd in some Castle for Two Years, and after the Expiration of them, to be Eight Years banish'd
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the Court. It is to be observ'd here, and may be believ'd upon the Faith due to such extraordinary Secrets, that besides the Command laid on *Antony Perez* that he should not clear himself, as has been said, he had a Promise made him by the same *F. James de Chaves*, that he should not be fin'd to the Value of Two Pair of Gloves, saying, all that was meer Ceremony and Contrivance. And if I must deliver his very Words, he said, *He will not be Fin'd the Value of a * Corporal for this Church*. For he spoke it in a Church of his own Order of *S. Dominick* to *Antony Perez's* own Wife, before Three or Four Witnesses. Nor did he talk wide, for it is most certain, that his Accusations being seen by a most grave Person in Dignity, Employment, Learning, and Conscience, and by some of the greatest Lawyers in *Spain*, one of them in the highest Esteem for his Learning and Integrity, it was there publicly declar'd and affirm'd that *Antony Perez* tho' he should not clear himself, could not be Fin'd the Value of a Handkerchief, that Person so well qualify'd had in his Hand, when he said it, and the other said, not in Three Hundred Royals. It is to be observ'd that this Judgment is not yet verify'd, nor can it be found upon Record, but only an Instrument of the Visitor in the Inquest, that is as much as to say the Solicitor General, whose Name was, the Licentiate

* A Corporal a small Piece of Linnen like a Handkerchief laid on the *Altar* under the Chalice.

to *Thomas de Salazar*, an excellent Circumstance to authorise and justify such a Judgment. The Instrument itself ran in the strongest Stile that ever was heard, for it was thus. That for as much as his Majesty had order'd a Court of Inquest to sit upon some of his Secretaries, and among them *Antony Perez*, and the Judges of the Inquest had given Sentence so and so, he therefore order'd the † Clerk of the Inquest, to go notify the same to him. And this so legal Instrument had not the Judgment inserted in it, nor was it Sign'd by any but the aforesaid Visitor, and not by any of the Judges, nor the King, as were the Sentences of the other Secretaries *Gazitelu* and *Delgado*, which were Sign'd by the King and by all the Judges as has been us'd and practis'd, especially in Arbitrary Courts, as that of the Inquest is, where for the most part either Power, Passion, Disdain, or Flattery, sit as Judges; where it is fit that the Name at least of him who has such Power and Authority should be seen, for no Judge on Earth has a Power to Condemn any otherwise than by the Authority deriv'd from Law and Justice. This was not all, for an authentick Copy of the said Instrument could never be had, tho' *Antony Perez* demanded it several times, and was deny'd it as often. In short, this Sentence was never seen, nor is there any Account of it, as I have said, nor is it likely there was any, since it does not appear; which all Men were amaz'd

† His Name was *Antony Marquez*.

at, because all saw into the Juggle and Contrivance. Besides, it is well known, that one of the Judges said, he knew nothing of any such Judgment, or Instrument; and the very Man, who Sign'd the Instrument, when a certain Person represented the Wrong done, charg'd his Conscience with it, and laid the general Scandal on his Honour, answer'd, *What will you have me do Sir, for I am commanded to Sign it?* Who would have given Advice to command it, and who would have obey'd it? Thus I express it because it must be so, and it is not to be believ'd that any Christian King would give such a Command, for his Conveniency, of his own Accord. But God the supreme and just Judge, began to pronounce some part of Judgment against this Monster; for the said Visitor in less than Two Months departed this Life, without Confession, or the other Sacraments, being snatch'd away by an Apoplexy of Soul and Body. Of the Body, because it seiz'd him standing in perfect Health, and he dy'd in Six Hours; of the Soul, because a Chaplain of his, who was at hand advis'd him to confess himself; for he was dying, and he refus'd, saying, it was a Jest. So he fell, and so he went off, and some others of the Judges follow'd the same way. I have thought fit to deliver all these particulars, because besides the Truth as to themselves, they sufficiently demonstrate what Sort of Proceedings the rest were, and all that heap of Accusations, and that unaccountable Judgment; for as to the first Charge it was as I have related, and in the

Two latter there was more than I speak of. And besides what is here said, the original Letters and Papers, under the King's own and his Brothers Hand, were presented at the Tryal in *Aragon*, in Justification of himself, and to prove his Fidelity to, and his Intimacy and Credit with his King, and that he neither writ, nor receiv'd Letters, nor acted, or even thought or more, (for he cannot speak plainer as to this now,) without his King's Knowledge and Advice. Nay more in the Proceedings of that Tryal in *Aragon* there are original Minutes of Letters from *Antony Perez* to the Secretary *John de Escovedo*, in which he writ very loosely concerning the King and his Temper, and these first sent to be perus'd by the King and noted, enlarg'd and approv'd of under the King's own Hand. In all my reading I have not met with the like Intimacy and Familiarity, that a King should consent and agree with his Servant, that he writ loosely of him, and that the King himself add to and mend it. This must be the greatest Tye that ever could be betwixt King, and Subject, and must needs imply some great Mystery and Discovery carrying on between them. It is a sufficient Pledge, unless all the Laws of Nature be wholly inverted, to engage a whole Kingdom not only to protect such a Subject, but to take part in all the Actions of such a Servant, cast into such Circumstances for so dangerous a Trust. Strange that at last he should be persecuted and receive such a Reward for such Service. I shall not ask Pardon for

for having insisted so much on this Particular, but rather Thanks; for such Things are well worth the knowing, by Reason they may prove beneficial to Men, in Order to lessen some part of the Affection and Confidence they may have in Princes. I mean that part which is an Excess, and which is not far from Idolatry, for I do not condemn what is due to them, which would be destroying the Order and Union of Nature; but the other I reject for the Publick Good; for Excess of Love and Respect ever proves Prejudicial both to Princes and Subjects. To the first, because being Men, some of them are so puff'd up and vain, that they scarce know themselves, much less their Inferiors. To the latter, because they become Slaves and are fetter'd by their own Contrivance; which God permits either as a Tryal, or an Example, or a Punishment; for the Effect will be answerable to the Judgment and Use every Man shall make of it. I am very sure some ancient Historians would have valu'd so many Particulars, so peculiar an Intimacy, and such a Reward of Merits, they would have debated upon it and improv'd it, and as from sundry Poisons and contrary Medicines would have extracted a Chymical Preparation, to serve as an Antidote against human Accidents, which consists in being acquainted with and taking warning by them, this being the principal End of History. What would *Cornelius Tacitus* have done, had he met with *Antony Perez's* Papers? His Design, in my Opinion was to describe the Nature of Prin-

ces, their Passions and Inclinations, that Men might not think those were any more than Men. This is of great Use to human Kind; for to write Tricks of State, Intelligences, Councils, Expeditions, Executions, Victories, and Kingdoms, won or lost, is not showing the Temper or Qualities of Princes; because these Things in a great measure often proceed from far different Causes; as from the Fortune of good Councillors in some, or from the Misfortune of the division of other Kingdoms in others; for I will not allow any thing in this Case to Fortune, which arrogates the Events of Things; but it is the ill Conduct, or Poverty occasion'd by intestine Broils which make an Enemy seem Powerful, Wise and Valiant, and therefore those successful Actions for the most part are no Glory of the Princes, nor entirely to be ascrib'd to some of them. But their Virtues and Inclinations, and their Effects, as they are practis'd, let loose, or curb'd, are what appear for or against them, as Merits, or Demerits.

To return to the Judgment of the Inquest, in pursuance of it, when the King set out to meet the *Cortes* of *Aragon*, fearing lest *Antony Perez*, if he were left under that sort of Confinement at large above-mention'd, being tir'd with such tedious Hopes without any Effect, or Token of any, might go away after the King to *Aragon*, or send his Wife, as he had done to *Portugal*, he order'd him to be secur'd. An *Alcalde de Corte* went to Arrest him. In that Surprise, perceiving what the Malice of his
Enemies

Enemies tended to, and that their Design was to consume him in Prisons and Tryals, he resolv'd to take Sanctuary in a Church. He did it not without Advice, for at the same Time the *Alcalde* waited to carry him away he held him so long in Discourse, that he had Leisure to send a trusty Servant to the Cardinal of *Toledo* to ask his Advice, whether he should take Sanctuary in a Church, and the Cardinal approv'd of it. The best of it was that the Servant by a Sign gave him to understand the Cardinals Opinion, before the *Alcalde's* Face, and he gave him the Slip dexterously and got into a Church. *Antony Perez* did it to bring his Cause into some Court above the Temporal. He was taken out of the Church and carry'd away Prisoner to a Fort. All his Estate and Papers were Seiz'd upon. The Church presently took the Matter in Hand, and in Fifteen Days Judgment was Twice given in Favour of him; which prov'd he was not guilty of any Treason against his King, in which case Sanctuary is not allow'd, and there is no doubt but it had been urg'd, if any such Thing had been against him. A greater Violence ensu'd, for the Popes Nuncio's Judges were apprehended and threatned very hard, if they did not desist from the Cause. Twenty Days after he was shut up in the Fort, that Instrument of the Judgment of the Inquest was notify'd to him. A few Days after, the King gave Leave that his Wife and Children should go bear him Company, and he allow'd some more Liberty. His Estate was also discharg'd,

which, as was said, had been seiz'd at the Time of his Imprisonment. It was not without Design that his Estate was discharg'd, he allow'd more Liberty, and his Wife and Children sent to him. The Intent was to secure all his original Papers and Letters from the King to him, and from him to the King; for as soon as he was thus enlarg'd, they began at a Distance with much Caution and many fair Promises to discourse him about his Papers. But perceiving that neither their Promises, nor his Enlargement, nor the Company of his Wife and Children, produc'd any Hopes of getting them, and fearing lest he should make use of that Liberty to slip away into *Aragon*, they resolv'd to leave fair Means, and to try the way of Severity and Cruelty. Accordingly he was again made close Prisoner, on Pretence that being an *Aragonian*, he design'd to go away to *Aragon*, to demand Justice for the Wrongs done him. His Wife and Children were taken from him in a pitiful and scandalous Manner, and carry'd away Prisoners to Court. They were all cast into Prison, Mother and Children, most of them under Four Years of Age, and no Friends allow'd to see them. This was carry'd so high, that a very scandalous Thing hapned, which was that *Donna Joanna Coello* desir'd her Confessor to go to Confession, and the Count *de Barajas*, President of *Castile*, refus'd to allow of him she ask'd, which was the same she and her Husband always us'd, and would grant none but one of his own chusing. What more hapned in this Par-

Particular is not fit to be writ, because too scandalous against the Liberty and Privilege of Confession. All *Antony Perez's* Estate was again seiz'd. All was expos'd to Sale with extraordinary Haveck. This done they came to the upshot of their Design; which was the Count *de Barajas* demanding of *Donna Joanna* her Husband's Papers. The Confessor *F. James de Obaves* did the same in Two Letters under his own Hand, and in no milder Terms than threatning and terrifying her with perpetual Imprisonment for Herself and Husband in Two several Castles, and a short Allowance of Bread by Ounces, if she did not deliver them. *Donna Joanna* back'd by that undauntedness she has shown to the World in her own and her Husband's Troubles, besides her other Christian and Natural Virtues, (for I may well and am oblig'd to give her this Character, as knowing how much all sorts of Persons respect that Lady,) would never have deliver'd the Papers, as contrary to all Human and Divine Laws, and to her particular Duty, had not her Husband order'd her to deliver them by his Notes writ with his own Hand and Blood. I say with his Blood, because he was forc'd to write with it, being depriv'd of all other means of Correspondence. An unpresidented Practice and horrid Cruelty, that a Man should be reduc'd to such Straits, after the Execution of a Sentence which was executed before it was pronounc'd. In fine, *Donna Joanna*, in Obedience to her Husband, sent the Confessor by a trusty Person Two

Trunks full of those Papers to *Monçon*, as has been prov'd at the Tryal in *Aragon*. She writ to him, *That he ought to consider that there were Testimonials to save her Husband's Life and Honour, and desir'd some might be reserv'd for a Time of Need.* The Confessor answer'd, as was also prov'd at the said Tryal, to Three Persons, who deliver'd him those Papers, these very Words. *What Testimonials? These Testimonials are to be reduc'd to Ashes, and Antony Perez is to receive Favors upon Favors for his Discharge.* These are the very Words themselves, and he was much in the right. Then how much is he, or they who are the cause of it to blame, for reducing *Antony Perez* to the Necessity of producing such Evidences in Court, at a Tryal where no less than his Life and Honour were depending. But this was not all, for the Confessor receiv'd the Two Trunks lock'd and seal'd up, as *Donna Joanna* sent them him, without opening them, or seeing what was deliver'd him. So eager and greedy was he to have them in his Hands, like an hungry Man, who eats without minding what is set before him. He would not receive the Keys of the Trunks, but order'd the Servant that brought them, to go immediately and deliver them into the King's own Hands. The Moment he came he was admitted and heard, and the King receiv'd the Keys with his own Hand. This proves that all what had been done in this Case, was with the King's Consent, and therefore the King is the more bound in Conscience,

Conscience, as a Gentleman, and on all Accounts, to Protect and do Right to that Man, and to make Satisfaction for all his Sufferings and Losses. Thus *Donna Joanna* got out of that close Prison, but her Husband remain'd under the same Confinement he was before. The Servant, who deliver'd the Trunks and Keys, at his return brought a Letter and a Note under his Hand of the Receipt of them, and his Word solemnly given in the Letter and confirm'd to the Servant, *That he would not permit any living Creature to see those Papers, and that not a Tittle of them should be wanting.* The same Promise he afterwards renew'd in Person several Time, to the said *Donna Joanna* in a very particular Manner, which was thus. *Donna Joanna* complaining to the Confessor of the long Continuance of her Sufferings, and of the daily Hardships put upon her Husband, contrary to so many repeated Promises made by the King and himself, and desiring since it was so, that he would return her the Papers, the Confessor said, *Madam, If they put any further Hardships upon Mr. Antony Perez, I will go abroad into the Market Places and cry out like a Madman, and I will tell every Body all the Secrets and Mysteries of the Story, and return you your Papers.* This agrees very well with his tumbling and perusing and examining them afterwards, and with all the rest that hapned and was done to *Antony Perez*, and to Seven *Antony Perez's*, that is, his Wife and Children, contrary to all Law and Equity.

After

After the King's Return from *Aragon* to *Castile*, *Antony Perez* had some more Liberty allow'd him, and after that again was brought to Court, to one of the best Houses in *Madrid*. Thus he continu'd Fourteen Months, half a Prisoner, He was visit'd by almost all the Court, by *Grandeess*, *Lords*, and all *Degrees of Ministers*. During that time one thing very singular hapned, which all People took much notice of, and was, that *Antony Perez* sent a private Letter to the King to beg Leave to go abroad to the *Divine Service*, during the *Holy Week*; for he continually writ to the King, who receiv'd his Papers graciously. I shall not mention the Contents of them, but I must declare, that he who carry'd them said, he receiv'd and kept them in his Bosom, and read some of them with Precaution not to be observ'd by the *Standers by*, and that he was easily admitted and heard. To return to what I was saying, *Antony Perez* had Leave granted him, after this manner, which is worth knowing. *F. James de Chaves* sent for a Clergyman, who was Tutor to *Gonzalo Perez*, eldest Son to *Antony Perez*, at Nine of the Clock at Night, and said to him. Do you know this Note of Mr. *Antony Perez*, to the King (I relate it exactly as the Priest told it me) wherein he asks such Leave? Then bid him in the Name of God, go these Days to *Divine Service* to our *Lady of Atocha*. The Clergyman answer'd, How so Sir, what will his Judge *Roderick Vazquez* and the Officers of Justice say, The

The Confessor reply'd. *Let him do as I say and not trouble himself for the rest.* Upon this *Antony Perez* went abroad freely that Week. I knew many that were at their Wits end about this Man's Affairs, seeing such Witchcraft and such unaccountable Proceedings. But they were more at a Loss, who knew more secret Matters, such as some I shall relate. One of them was that *Donna Joanna Coello*, Wife to *Antony Perez*, repairing sometimes to the Empress on account of his Troubles, besides the Favour and Comfort her Imperial Majesty and that more than human Compassion bestow'd, she resolv'd to send a Message to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, by the Emperor's Embassador *Keveniler*. The Message was this, *That since he knew what Resolutions the King her Brother was come to, concerning Antony Perez his Affairs, being to favour and requite him, and he was so much oblig'd to Antony Perez as he confess'd; why then would he not acquaint them with those Resolutions, for their Comfort and Repose.* The Embassador carry'd the Message and deliver'd it to the Cardinal, who answer'd, *That he was a Subject and a Servant, and durst not speak it, that her imperial Majesty, who was his Sister might tell them.* The Persons here nam'd know this to be true. Which Truth, he of them who shall be in Authority will be oblig'd to make known to those that shall come hereafter, and to inform the Successor, that he may be sensible of the Works of Malice and may understand from what a

Height

Height of Esteem, after what great Services, and with how great Wrong to the Princes Conscience *Antony Perez* was thus cast down. Yet further to prove this Point, and that the King's favourable Resolution still continu'd unalter'd after so long a time, the Cardinal of *Toledo* one Day went so far with *Donna Gregoria*, Daughter to *Antony Perez*, as to bid her, tell her Father he should make himself very Fine, for he would one of those Days go visit and carry him abroad to walk about the Court. These Hints confounded all Men, as it did to see him at the same time involv'd in judicial-Proceedings. What more needs be said? *Roderick Vasquez*, *Antony Perez's* Judge, said to *Don Francisco de Fonseca*, Lord of *Coca*, who was discoursing him about the Unaccountableness of *Antony Perez's* Affairs. Sir, what would you have me to say to you? For sometimes the King presses me forwards and gives a loose, and at other times he curbs me, and draws back. I do not understand it, nor can I fathom the Mysteries there are in all Appearance betwixt the King and his Subject. And this is likely was the Thorn that prick'd the Judge's Curiosity and Malice. These were the Advances of Envy, or the Ebblings and Flowings of Conscience in the King's Breast, where all the Truths I have here hinted at were laid up.

Things being in this Posture and the Malice and Envy of his Adversaries still sprouting out anew, like the Heads of *Hydra*, by their Instigation *Peter de Escovedo*, Son to the
 Secre-

Secretary *Escovedo*, openly prosecuted *Antony Perez* for the Death of his Father, without that Disguise of Kindred abovemention'd, or remembering his Promise made to the President *Don Antonio de Pazos*. For they now and then discovering some Tokens and Glances of Favour, which never did *Antony Perez* any good, but serv'd to inflame the Malice of his Enemies and to dazle their Eyes; and observing that the King still delay'd and put off the Proceeding against *Antony Perez* on Account of that Death, they grew jealous again, that it had proceeded from some extraordinary Motives of State, which had oblig'd the King to it, and therefore they dreaded the Resurrection of *Antony Perez* and his returning to his former Post; and they thought that continuing their Attacks they should at length overcome him, and ruin that Man, and that one Prince's Nature would not differ from others, in refusing to appear in such Actions, whatsoever it cost, or how heavy soever it fell upon others. Therefore having no Handle left to lay hold of for a Criminal Prosecution, but that old one, they made the most of it, and got the better at last, and the King consented he should be Prosecuted for that Death bare-fac'd. Thus was he carry'd away again a Prisoner from the Court. He was conducted to the Castle of *Pinto* with a great Hubbub, which gave fresh Scandal and a general Astonishment. Two Months and a half after he was brought back to the Court, tho' the King had order'd

it

it within less than Twenty Days, but the Judge oppos'd it as much as he could. He was brought to a considerable House in *Madrid*. For such Changes and Irregularities as that Man has run thro' were never seen. I have sometimes ventur'd to pass this Judgment upon the opposite Designs against *Antony Perez*, and his Princes Favours and Protection, that they must needs be the struglings (as it were of contrary Humours) of the Prince's Inclination and Conscience, against the Assaults of Envy, as being conscious of *Antony Perez's* Innocence, and what is a greater Obligation on Kings, and Gentlemen of natural Worth, which is the greatest, he knew that *Antony Perez* suffer'd for his Sake and for his Service. In short, he was examin'd to *Escovedo's* Death. In that Examination *Antony Perez* behav'd himself with the Respect and Fidelity due to his Princes Secrets, and to what his King had desir'd of him, ever since the putting that Man to Death was concerted between them, after it and whilst they were pressing the King about it. Among the Papers presented in his Defence at *Zaragoza*, there is one, in which *Antony Perez* giving the King an Account of his Enemies Proceedings in order to ruin him on Account of that Death, his Majesty writes, *That he must not be troubled at all they can do, nor leave him, for he will not forsake him, and that he may assure himself that Malice shall not prevail against him.* And the King adds these Words, *And you must be pleas'd that it be not made out that the Man was kill'd*
by

by my Order. So he goes on still adding so much to this Effect, that much less ought to have suffic'd to protect one that suffer'd for his Sake, and to punish him that was his Persecuter. *Antony Perez* at this time, as at all others, acquainted his King with all that was doing, showing him all the Inconveniences that ensu'd, all which he foresaw, as also the End such Proceedings would have, and as if he had known what was to happen, as appears by the original Papers under the King's own Hand, which he presented at *Zaragoza* at his Tryal, and is well known to some great Men, ever since that time. This did not hinder the Proceeding of those Ministers, who aim'd at the Destruction of *Antony Perez*, and were the more enrag'd, the more they perceiv'd he went Hand in Hand with his King. Especially the Judge *Roderick Vazquez* was much offended, because he guess'd by *Antony Perez* his Words and Answers, or was willing to believe there was some notable Mystery in that great Cause. On the Day of his Examination, *Antony Perez* had only Ten Days assign'd him, to make his Defence in a Process which had been Ten Years framing against him, without his Knowledge or any thing laid to his Charge during that Time. This was made out by the Process, by the Depositions of Witnesses and the Dates of them. Yet there was something more strange and scandalous, which was the manner of shewing the Process to his Council, which the Judge order'd should be shew'd them by piece-meal,

nor

nor were they allow'd to read it themselves, but the Clerk at a Distance from them, concealing the Names of the Witnesses, and leaving out whole Sentences. A thing forbid in all Courts, nay not allow'd in the Inquisition, for besides other Illegalities in this Proceeding, it makes the Judges Witnesses and out of Danger; for a Judge being known may be excepted against, but the Witness cannot, yet *Antony Perez* was so much wrong'd both as to Judge and Witnesses, that he excepted against the Judge and it was not allow'd him. Now if a Judge proves partial, as his appear'd to be, and the Prisoner's Exception against him is rejected, and he grows Proud and Insolent with this favour; the Lord have Mercy on the Judge, but more on him that falls under his Hands. Let any Man tell me whether ever there was such a Process, or such a Tryal and Judge. Whilst these Examinations were taking, it seems the Confessor *F. James de Chaves* and *Roderick Vazquez* agreed to peruse all *Antony Perez's* Papers sent by *Donna Joanna* to *Monzon* in the Trunks above-mention'd. This they did very private and cautiously, making use of a Friar for their Clerk, or Secretary. This Search took them up many Days and several Hours every Day, to the great Astonishment of those that desir'd to know the meaning of this Privacy. What they found, or miss'd only they can tell, but it is likely they did not meet with the Papers presented at the Tryal in *Aragon*; but tho' they had found them, God knows how that had been discover'd, which
they

they design'd to conceal, for he has other means; and it is usual for humane Malice to be overseen where it uses most Precaution. After the Examination, perceiving that *Antony Perez* deny'd his being concern'd in the Death of *Escovedo*, in Obedience to the King's Will, the Confessor *F. James de Chaves*, I know not to what purpose sent him a Letter under his own Hand, as follows.

S I R,

Being acquainted with yours and your Families long Sufferings, I have consider'd with myself, whether it were proper, for the Sake of Charity, to give Advice to one that does not ask it, and have at last resolv'd to do so. I say therefore, that since in Reality you have a peremptory Justification as to this Fact, when it shall be known, therefore you ought plainly to confess it, and thus, in my Opinion, you will put an End to all your Troubles, since that is the Occasion and Ground of them all, and let every Man answer for himself. God preserve you and give you Health and Happiness. I do not tell you how much I am concern'd about this Affair, because God knows and sees it, and our Sovereign Lord the King is sensible of it. From the Escorial September 3. 1589. *F. James de Chaves*.

Antony Perez, not without Advice, answer'd the Confessor. That he should consider what he advis'd him to do, for it was not Just in Conscience for a Man to condemn himself in a Case of that Consequence, when there was not sufficient Evidence even to imprison him, especially

when it must be prejudicial to so many innocent Persons, and that it could not be convenient to discover what the King commanded to conceal; and if the thing aim'd at was to do Justice to Escovedo, it were better it should fall upon him than his Majesty, or the Respect due to his Affairs, or discovering his Secrets, or involving other innocent Persons; since the King was so desirous, and had commanded, not to say, intreated him, that it should not be known that Execution had been done by his Order and Command; and therefore it was better in all Respects that he should Compound with Escovedo. The Confessor return'd an Answer by a second Letter, which follows.

S I R,

I receiv'd yours of the 10th Instant, in Answer to mine, and have again consider'd on what I writ, as you desire, and am still of the same Opinion I was before, and can find no better Way for you to deliver your self out of such Confinement, and from so many Sufferings as you have run thro' to no Purpose, as it appears, than to speak the Truth, as to your being concern'd in the Death lay'd to your Charge, and to declare by whose Order it was done, without mentioning the Motives there were for it, for this must not be so much as hinted at. You answer, it would be a great Wrong to his Conscience, for a Man who has a Wife and Children, who is Innocent and Clear in the Eye of the Law, to condemn himself, or any other Person, which I might easily judge as a Christian and a Man of Learning.

How.

However, I think the Advice I gave, grounded on what Donna Joanna has told me several times, and on the Papers she has shewn me by your Order, is agreeable to Christianity and Learning; the Design of it being that you may not prejudice yourself at your Tryal, and if you have done it already, that you do not persist in the Sin; wherein you do not condemn your self, nor any innocent Person, but rather assert your Innocence, and save your self and them; for James Martinez, one of them, has lain several Years close Prisoner and sustain'd great Losses as you do, for refusing to own this Truth. " To this Purpose I must
 " inform you, according to my skill in Law, that
 " a secular Prince, who has Power of Life
 " and Death over his Subjects, may as well take
 " away his Life without Tryal, as with it, upon
 " a just Cause and sufficient Evidence, because
 " the formal Tryal and Course of Law,
 " are only to satisfy the Law, which he may
 " dispense with. And tho' he should be to blame
 " for acting irregularly, the Subject cannot be
 " so for killing another Subject by his Order;
 " because it is to be suppos'd that he has a just
 " Cause for such a Command, and the Law supposes
 " that the Sovereign can do no Wrong;
 " and if there be no Crime there can be no Punishment.
 " Hence you may infer, Sir, that if
 " in this Case the Truth be made known, no body
 " will be condemn'd, but on the contrary yours
 " and your Accomplices Innocence is made known,
 " one of whom lies in Prison, others 'tis likely are
 " fled, and you in the Condition we all see. The

Truth once made known heals all these Sores and puts an end to the Affair, and so his Majesty will satisfy Escovedo, who has so earnestly press'd him, so many several Ways demanding Justice against you; in so much that he has not been able to forbear giving Way to it. And if, when this is made publick, he shall pretend to prosecute his Majesty, he shall be commanded to desist and depart the Court, and thank God he comes off so, without discovering the Motives there were for it; which as I have said, must not be mention'd on any Account. All I have here said at length and in my last, has been in Compassion for your Sufferings, not but, Sir, you may do as you please, if you do not like my Advice. I think what you hint at of suffering this Process to run on as far as it can go, is much less advisable; because the Fudge must be convinc'd of the Truth, Donna Joanna Coello herself having own'd it to him and to the Count de Barajas, so that perhaps he will be satisfy'd with less Proof, and what there is may in Time be improv'd, when the Affair shall come before the Court, which might bring you and others into Trouble.

The other Way you propose, Sir, of compounding with Escovedo, I approve of, and it ought to be done without his Majesty's being seen in it, because he is offended at him for the Provocations you know were given by his Father, and his own, which are not small. If Sir, you can compass this Composition it will do well on all Accounts. God direct it, as is most for his Service and your Benefit. From the Escorial.

Before

Before I proceed, I must beg that these Letters be consider'd, as well deserving it, for his Profession and Post that writ them, and even for their own Sake as taken in a Christian Sense. I speak not without Book, for besides that their Nature is such as will scandalize any Christian Ears, tho' they be not Divines; I know they were Condemn'd as most Scandalous by Persons of great Worth in Dignity, in Learning, and Christian Sincerity, and among them by one who had the * Supreme Spiritual Post in *Spain*, and had before been an Officer in the Inquisition. The Original Letters were deliver'd in at the Tryal in *Aragon*. It is to be observ'd, that whatsoever *Antony Perez* advis'd was perform'd, provided it was to his Detriment; I urge it because the Confessor allow'd of his compounding with *Escovedo*, which proves the Malice of the Ministers and the Fidelity of *Antony Perez*. By the Confessor's Advice and with his Approbation he compounded with *Escovedo* for 20000 Ducats; and the best of it is, that tho' all his Rents were sequester'd, and he not allow'd a Subsistence, but being maintain'd upon Charity during the Time he was Prisoner in *Aragon*, yet it was order'd that *Escovedo* should be pay'd the 20000 Ducats. They were pay'd that the King's Secrets might not be reveal'd, or the Motives of that Death discover'd, and the faithful Concealer wanted Bread. This Composition be-

* *The Pope's Nuncio.*

ing made with the Party, approv'd of by the Confessor, and purchas'd with the Blood of an innocent Person and his Children, *Roderick Vazquez*, the aforesaid Judge in this Cause, a fit Person to be intrusted with it, as being a kin to *Escovedo* or his Family, perceiving that *Antony Perez* got clear of all, found out a strange Contrivance, for none better at it than a Heart full of Malice and disappointed. The Contrivance was, that he writ to the King, tho' I cannot remember all the Letter *Verbatim*, yet I remember it was one of the most virulent that ever Prejudice invented. In this and another Note of his Malice exceeded, proceeding so far as to bury all *Antony Perez's* Sincerity and Justice in Fraud and Deceit, for *Roderick Vazquez* apply'd himself to the King in this manner. *That since Antony Perez got off by compounding with Escovedo for his Father's Death, his Majesty might be pleas'd to consider, it was now publickly spread Abroad that he had been put to Death by his Order, and therefore it was for his Honour to have it discover'd, and to command Antony Perez, to declare the Motives there were for that Execution.* Then he added these Words, which I particularly remember. Sir, *Antony Perez* fancies the killing of *Escovedo* is not sufficiently prov'd in the Process, tho' I think it clear enough, if I may be the Judge, your Majesty may please to write me an Order for me to show him, to this Effect. Tell *Antony Perez*, that he well knows I order'd him to cause *Escovedo* to be kill'd for the Reasons he is acquainted

quainted with, that it is for my Service that he declare them. And thus he went on. This was no bad Contrivance if God had not order'd it better, for his Design was to ask the Motives for killing the Man, as thinking that when these were once declar'd, the Business was done, and the Execution was own'd; besides, that having taken away his Papers he had no Vouchers, as they thought to produce. *Antony Perez* saw this Original Paper from *Roderick Vasquez*, and had it in his Hands, as it was going to the King, and as it return'd with the Answer, by the Contrivance of a Friend. Let not the Shame of this Disappointment enrage the Actors, for it will be flying in the Face of Heaven, which would not suffer Malice to have its Effect, since *Antony Perez* had Notice of the Conspiracy form'd by that Paper, when they thought him quite run down, and there was still some Body left to give a helping Hand towards his Deliverance. I shall not now mention the Means, nor the Names lest they fall under Persecution; but when it may be done without Danger to them, they shall be made known, to the Confusion of Malice and immortal Honour of true Friendship. This is *Antony Perez's* Witchcraft, by which they report, that he would make Birds fly into his Hands; for this it was to attract such a Paper in its Passage, by the Goodness of Heaven, and the Management of a Friend. To return to *Roderick Vasquez's* Note, his Advice and Contrivance gave so much Scandal, that *Don Gaspar de Quiroga*, Cardinal of *Toledo*, when he heard of the infamous

mous Project in Hand, resolv'd to go himself to
 the Confessor, and spoke these very Words to
 him. *Sir, either I am not in my right Senses, or
 this is a mad Affair. If the King commanded
 Antony Perez to cause Escovedo to be kill'd, and
 he owns it, why does he call him to Account for
 it, or ask the Reasons? He ought to have con-
 sider'd them then, and he would have been sa-
 tisfy'd, for the other was not a Judge in that
 Cause, but a Secretary and Deliverer of the Pac-
 kets that came to his Hands, and the Executor
 of what he ordain'd and commanded, as betwixt
 Friends. Why does he now after Twelve Years
 are elaps'd, require him to show the Motives when
 his Papers are taken from him, and so many are
 Dead who might perhaps know something, and
 be Witnesses to several Particulars? Raise up
 500 Persons that are Dead to Life again, restore
 him his Papers without reading, or tumbling them;
 and even then it cannot be done.* The Confessor
 was amaz'd and said. *My Lord, your most illu-
 strious Lordship may rest satisfy'd, for this has
 been done only to satisfy the Judge Roderick Vas-
 quez, and all will be well.* And thus he went
 on as he was wont, using such Words as the Res-
 pect due to the Cardinal and his present Disor-
 der suggested. I was further inform'd, that the
 Pope's Nuncio, then residing at the Court, ap-
 ply'd to the Confessor in his Holiness's Name,
 on Account of the Scandal given in all Parts by
 the long Continuance and Changes of *Antony Pe-
 rez's* Troubles, and the Losses sustain'd by so ma-
 ny Innocent Persons; that some End might be
 put

put to that Affair, and Justice might not suffer so much from private Grudges and Designs. These Sollicitations were very offensive and rais'd the Spleen higher, so the Confessor declar'd to those, who came to put him in mind of *Antony Perez*, and he sent him and his Wife word by them and by a Religious Man, *That they must not so much as mention Justice, but beg for Mercy.* But all that avail'd nothing, for neither was intended. The Confessor sufficiently show'd it afterwards, on the same Day before the Night, when *Antony Perez* made his Escape out of Prison, being holy *Wednesday*; for that very Morning he said to those, who came to put him in mind of *Antony Perez* and of the Mercy he bid them beg, *That there was now no talking of Mercy.* And they Answering. *How so Sir, is that your Answer at last? Then since there is no Mercy, let us have Justice.* He reply'd. *What would you have it in the Holy week? Stay till these days are past and he shall have it.* This was at a good Time for the Confusion of all those wicked Machinations of Mercy and Justice; and perhaps this desperate Answer came from the Mercy and Justice of Heaven, that *Antony Perez* might do himself Right. In my Opinion, the greatest Act of Respect that can be on Earth, is to ask Justice of one's Prince, and much greater than to beg Grace or Favour, for this may be granted by an equal, but the other only by a Sovereign. To return to the Cardinal of *Toledo's* Words to the Confessor, they were very home and concluding; for the King owning his Command for killing the Man,

Man, how could *Antony Perez* be question'd about it, so many Years after, and all his Papers being seiz'd, and when they miss'd those they look'd for, having demanded of his Wife those of his King to him, and from him to the King, especially when he, his Wife, and Children were all in Prison, and such Threats us'd to them. This was the Opinion of one of the most solid Divines in *Spain*, look'd upon as such by *F. James de Chaves*, the Confessor and of his own Order, who having seen the Letters under his Hand to *Donna Joanna Coello*, wherein he demanded her Husband's Papers, and his Answer that he had receiv'd them, said, *That Antony Perez could not be answerable for any thing, but that he might demand what he would of the King, on Account of his taking away and receiving his Papers, without an Inventory made of every one in particular.* To return to the King's Order writ by the Advice of *Roderick Vazquez*, *Antony Perez* was in pursuance of it examin'd over and over. He answer'd three several times, being almost put upon the most Proof of his Fidelity. *That he had kill'd no body, nor knew of any Motives.* This Constancy in *Antony Perez* in his Secrecy and Fidelity, put the Judge (by a new Slight of extracting Poison from the Virtues of Things, for it is frequent to extract Virtue from Poison) upon ingaging the King in further Cruelties, not doubting but one would succeed upon the Neck of another till they came to the utmost; which was thus, he said, *That if Antony Perez refus'd to discover the Motives,*
when

when the King commanded him to disclose them, it might be inferr'd that they were not real; and if he confess'd them, he had not Vouchers to make them out, his Papers being taken from him. Then follow'd that extraordinary Proceeding of the Rack. An Action, which gave such Scandal at Court, that some of the greatest Men and prime Councillors talk with more than usual Freedom against that Cruelty, executed on such a Man, for such a Cause, such Affairs, and Mysteries, and wherein such Persons were concern'd. But this Age may perhaps have a *Cornelius Tacitus* as well as another. I will not conceal the Words any longer, for it is fit they be known, so the Persons be conceal'd. They were spoken the Day after the Rack given, by prime Councillors, to one of the greatest Lords in *Spain*. He reported them. If this Book happens to be read there, they will understand me. The Words were these. *Subjects have been often known to betray their Kings, but never the King to betray his Subject.* I must add another Circumstance concerning the Scandal given by this Racking, which is, that a notable religious Preacher, call'd *F. Salinas*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, who was brought to Court that Lent for his virtuous Life and Sermons, and perhaps that he might say what I am about to deliver, preaching to the Courtiers upon the Uncertainty of the Favour of Princes, in the Royal Chappel, less than Eight Days after the Racking, pronounc'd these Words. *Brethren, whom do you thus follow gaping and beside your selves? Have you not*

a Warning before your Eyes? Don't you see the Danger you live in, don't you perceive it? Did not you see him, but the other Day in the highest Place and to Day upon the Rack? What is it you seek after? What is it you hope for? I cannot stop here, tho' it be but to encourage the great Man, with all the Reward this World can bestow on generous Souls, which is making it known, that there are still some, who preserve so much Worth and Christian Liberty as to speak such Truths, I must inform the World that he added these Words. Gentlemen, I speak freely to fulfil the Duty of my Office, and to gain a great Advantage to my self, which is, that I be turn'd out of the Court, for speaking the Truth, as others have been, for in reality I do not love to live in it, as the Court does not love to bear the Truth. Before I proceed to Antony Perez's Answer, give me leave to ask, how these Matters can be reconcil'd. The King desires of Antony Perez, that the killing of Escovedo may not be discover'd, nor that it was done by his Order, and writes so to him several Times with his own Hand as has been shown. The Confessor in Two Letters of his own Hand, bids him own the Fact and by whose Order, concealing the Motives, for those must not be hinted at. Roderick Vasquez, after all this, with a Note under the King's own Hand to that Effect, tells him, it is the King's Will that he declare the Motives there were for that Execution, and he should not be question'd about it. Antony Perez, in Obedience to the King's Com-
mands

mands to conceal the whole, and to the Confessor's Orders strictly to conceal the Motives, is put upon the Rack, after enduring the greatest, which is that of the Understanding, as not knowing how to behave himself in that Confusion, and under such contradictory Commands. Is this to be reconcil'd? And tho' Three Orders were given at different Times, yet that from the Confessor and the other from *Roderick Vasquez* had not Twenty Days betwixt them, and the one was not mention'd in the other. Who will not grant but that the Orders *Antony Perez* had under the King's own Hand ought to take Place of the others, especially considering the Regard due to those Affairs, and that *Antony Perez* knew how ignorant the King kept the Managers of this Cause, to conceal from them his having any Hand in the Death of *Escovedo*, and how they impos'd upon the King to discover the Secrets of his Heart.

Now I return to the Rack and *Antony Perez's* Answer. Being in this Confusion, he resolv'd, by the Advice of Persons of great Note, for he still advis'd about his Sufferings, to endure it till he shed his Blood to preserve the Secrets, according to his King's private Command. But at length, after such Proofs given, rather than sacrifice his Life and the Honour of his Children, at so mean a rate, for all the Earth, nor the Princes thereof have not any Thing equivalent to purchase them, he resolv'd to declare the Causes and Motives there were for resolving and executing the Death of *Escovedo*, giving a brief

Account

Account of that Story, with the greatest Caution he could in Regard to his King, to third Persons, and to the Nature and Quality of the Thing it self; all which suffer'd by the Cruelty of the Executioners, not to mention the Affront done to Heaven. He quoted original Papers under the King's Hand, to the great Amazement of *Roderick Vasquez*, and his Associate the Licentiate *John Gomez*, who was present at the Racking, for the other waited without to be told what the Patient said. It is very well worth observing here, that the Licentiate *John Gomez* reading the Declaration made by *Antony Perez*, to *Roderick Vasquez*, he said, *The King has told it me after the same manner*. The Patient heard it himself. *Antony Perez* also quoted as a * Witness to what he had said, one of his own Family, still living and a Priest, who cipher'd and descipher'd all that went and came by the King's Permission, because he would not have any other entrusted but a Person of that Worth and chosen by *Antony Perez*, because of the high Nature of those Affairs, and the Danger *Antony Perez* ran. The best of it was that the Priest's Depositions were taken, after *Antony Perez* got out of *Castile*, and that multitude of Proceedings against him in *Anagon* was begun, believing there might be something found contrary to *Antony Perez* his Depositions, and therefore they sent thither the Process against him

* Ferdinand de Escobar Archdeacon of Alarcon above-mention'd.
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piecemeal, and conceal'd the Depositions of that Witness. But such was the Nature of this Cause. Besides, they omitted to send into *Aragon* the Copy of the aforesaid Order of the King to *Roderick Vasquez*. It is likely that Witness made not against *Antony Perez*, nor did his Persecutors find any Thing they look'd for.

Antony Perez being reduc'd to this Extremity, and knowing he should be oblig'd to produce Vouchers for what he said, which he could not do freely, and that they would accuse him for not delivering all his Papers, when the King's Confessor demanded them, if he produc'd any in his Vindication, and fearing that so many wicked Practises and Cruelties could not end in any Thing but his Death, he resolv'd to make his Escape out of the Prison in *Castile*, as is well known to all the World. I will not tell the manner how it was done. It was generally believ'd that by the Assistance of his Wife *Donna Joanna Collo*. A mighty Crime. In short he got out of Prison, with the Help and in Company of *Giles de Mesa*, a Gentleman of *Aragon*, his Kinsman and well known in the Catholick Court, on Holy *Wednesday* at Nine of the Clock at Night, and so luckily, that *Antony Perez* going along with only one Friend, for *Giles de Mesa* was gone to wait with the Horses, they met with the Watch in the Street, and pass'd by them, the Friend contriving it so dexterously, that he spoke to the Officers, *Antony Perez* standing behind, like his Servant. He left no Blame upon any Body, nor any Sign of what way they broke out, either in
Bar

Bar of Window, Door, Lock, Wall, or Partition, nor is it known to this Day which way he got out. This made them say it had been by Art Magick, which if it had been true, he would have made use of it on the Road, and not have rode Post Thirty Leagues as he did, till he got into *Aragon*, with very much Pain, and using that Stratagem that another should ride the same Stages after him, which was *John Francis Mayorini*, a *Genoese*, that he might tire the Horses, and his Persecutors that were to follow him might get none, as it hapned. The next Day, being Maunday *Thursday*, a Holy Day, but an ungodly Action, it was a dismal Sight to behold the Imprisonment of his Wife and Children, some of them so Young, that they were carry'd in Arms, such were the Criminals and dangerous Persons apprehended; and the general Cry and Lamentation was no less dismal. 'Tis likely it was convenient so to do, lest those mighty Offenders that Nest of Chickens, and that Mother who was fit to fly, being Eight Months gone with Child, should make their Escape. Such was her Condition when she and they were apprehended. This on that Day on which it is usual to pardon heinous Offenders, and just at the Time when the Processions were going, breaking through them, amidst the Crosses and all the other Instruments of the Resemblance of the Passion, that there might be no Want of Witnesses to such a glorious Action. In short, Mother and Children were carry'd to the common Goal, a fit Place and proper Company, such

such as uses to be there, for such Persons, their Quality, Sex, Age and Offence. And tho' amidst such Cruelties and Hardships all might be Silent, as having the Word of God, and the Sword of his Wrath, and the Punishment of his Threat, to comfort them, Exod. 22. 28. 22. 23, &c. it is worth observing, that besides the Friends, Kindred and Servants, apprehended at that Time, a Friend of *Antony Perez* was taken up for his Escape as far as *Medina del Campo*, and brought to *Madrid* as a mighty Prize; barely because he was a Friend to *Antony Perez*, and because in Times past no Tryals of Threats, Racks, or Promises, could ever prevail upon him, to do or say any thing against his Friend. For this mighty Crime he is still Prisoner, loaded with Irons and ill us'd, being every now and then put to the Test upon all these different Tryals. I will name him lest the Laws of Nature should complain that I conceal so brave a Champion of theirs. His Name is *Don Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos*, a Gentleman of *Medina del Campo*, Son to *John Alamos de Barrientos*, well known in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and a great Friend to *Gonzalo Perez*, Father to *Antony Perez*. The Son, tho' not rich in the Goods of Fortune, is yet wealthy in Gifts of Nature, which are those I call the Estate real, since no Storm of Malice or Envy, can snatch them away, nor no Sovereign Power confiscate them. And the Goods of Fortune I count Moveables, as being uncertain and moveable like herself. He is a Person of an excellent Disposition, of good Learning, besides his own Profession,

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which

which is the Law, well acquainted with History, of which Fortune and his own and Friends Adventures have furnish'd him with a good Stock; but above all he is a Man of singular Honour. This Person at the Beginning of *Antony Perez's* Imprisonments came to testify his Friendship and to bear Part in his Troubles; where there are very few that care to engage their Stocks, tho' he had not done it, when he was in his high Fortune and Favour. This was a singular Effect of true Friendship; and accordingly he presently met with the Reward which such Virtue prizes most, being Imprisonment, Persecution, Racks, Fetters and Banishment, for being a Friend to his Friend. A Crime for which in other cruel Ages, those who were try'd by their Prince were acquitted. The Offence committed by the Wife, in assisting her Husband to get out of Prison, after so many Years Oppression, and being reduc'd to such a miserable Condition, is remitted by all natural, divine and human Laws, and by those of *Spain* in particular. *Saul*, tho' he persecuted *David*, never touch'd *Michol*, who was his Daughter, for delivering her Husband out of the Reach of his Wrath. The Common, Civil and Cannon Law clears her for what she has done in Defence of her Husband. The particular Law of *Earl Fernan Gonzalez* sets her free. The general Vogue and Judgment of the World praises and commends her. Then as for the Children, they were in their House, in their Beds, in their Cradles, which proves they were unfit for such a Trust by the Tenderness of their Years. Only
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the Son that was in the Mother's Womb, who was imprison'd, before he was born, and punished before he could commit a Crime, and both his Life and Soul endanger'd, like his Brother, who lost both, when his Mother was apprehended the first Time, on the River of *Lisbon*. Perhaps that is the precise Time of arresting in this Age. But to say no more of this, it might be some Excuse and even Meritorious, that *Antony Perez* had escap'd, to the general good liking and satisfaction, as is well known. And in this particular, I will not mention the extraordinary Tokens of Joy that appear'd in Persons of the highest Rank ; lest perhaps they be accus'd for shedding Tears of Joy, as others mention'd by *Tacitus* were for those of Sorrow. However, I will tell what hapned with a Mad-man the King had, call'd Unkle *Martin*, a real Mad-man, and as such carry'd from *Zaragoza* to divert the Catholick King. An ancient Custome of Princes, for the intent above-mention'd, or to the End that if Men in their Wits will not tell them the Truth, at least the Mad-men may tell it them, for their Information and to the Confusion of others. This Mad-man observing what a general rejoycing there was among all Men for *Antony Perez's* Escape, went to the King that very Morning and said, *Sir, who is this Antony Perez ? That all People are so glad he has made his Escape, sure he was not Guilty. Do you Rejoyce too.* This I was told, and it is true, and it had not been amiss to take his Advice, for tho' it came from a Mad-man, the Advice was

Wife, and he had been so that should take it.

I will not omit in this Place, to add something to what has been already said, before I proceed, concerning the Imprisonment of that Mother and Children, and the Motives that might cause it, and the Continuance of that Cruelty for so long a Time. I will not mention the Disorder, the Disappointment, and the Confusion it was to them, that a Carcass they had been so long dressing and tending under the Rack to be serv'd up to the Princes Table should slip out of their Hands, at the Time when they hop'd to bury the whole Truth of the Fact, and with it all their own Misdemeanors. No I am of Opinion, that, besides that wretched Satisfaction which Dogs take in biting the Stone, when they cannot come at him, they aim at, they doubtless dread that natural Courage they have discover'd in *Donna Joanna*, ever since she us'd to talk to, and confound them about the Wrong done to her Husband ; and no less that sprightly Spirit and excellent Disposition of *Donna Gregoria*, the Eldest Daughter of those Parents ; which is such, that if it may be so express'd it even exceeds her Mother, and it may well be said, for the Honour done to the Child was never any lessening of the Parent. For they fear'd least they should disgrace, and excite the People against them, crying for Justice, which is the greatest Offence in this Age ; and lest the Children should have a Spirit like the Mother and the Sister, to demand Justice for their Parents, for their Brethren, and for the Wrongs receiv'd ; as if God, who

who made the Mouth and the Tongue, the Deaf and the Dumb, the Blind and him that has Sight, could not give Tongues to the very Stones, as we see it falls out. For the keeping them all in that Dungeon, and in such a miserable Condition, makes the hardest Stones to speak, and to cry aloud out of Compassion and Amazement; and to call upon God for Justice and the fulfilling of his Word, which cannot fail. Besides, the Two Principal Actors in these Cruelties, *F. James de Chaves*, the Confessor, and *Roderick Vazquez*, may in some Measure contrive their Imprisonment out of Revenge, on Account of what pass'd betwixt the Mother and the Confessor, and the Daughter and *Roderick Vazquez*, which are very remarkable Stories and worth knowing, tho' they draw me a while aside, give Ear to them. The one is this, That after the said Lady had been Millions of Times with the King's Confessor to demand Justice, which was then no where to be expected but from the Spiritual Court, and after a Thousand Times had been prefix'd and elaps'd, as many Promises made and broken, and Solemn Ingagements not perform'd, she came one Day, which by what hapned I believe was the last, to speak to the Confessor, at the Royal Monastery of *St. Dominick*, of Dominican Nuns, where both *Donna Joanna* and the Confessor have Sisters and Nieces, and standing before the High Altar, she urg'd her Demand of Justice so home, that thinking she spoke to a deaf Man, since he had not heard so often as she had spoke to him, she turn'd to

God, as present on the Altar, and who always hears, calling upon him as Witness and Judge, and begg'd Justice of him for her Wrongs and those unaccountable Practices, and against the Confessor himself. The Fryar for a while was amaz'd, besides himself and pale as Death. Then he rose up and call'd Donna Joanna's Servants aloud, saying, *Gentlemen, Gentlemen, come hither, call the Prioress and Donna Joanna's Sisters and my Nieces to me.* So saying he mov'd forward and all came together to the Grate of the Church. Those above-mention'd and all the other Nuns came presently, hearing the Noise and Disorder. They sat down, and the Confessor very deliberately said as follows. *My Lady Prioress, Donna Joanna has press'd hard upon my Soul and Conscience, and call'd upon God as Judge, and demanded Justice for her Wrongs and against me. I have told the King, that he is oblig'd in the highest Degree of Conscience, to dispatch Mr. Antony Perez's Business, without the least Delay; and to restore this Lady her Husband, and at the next Confession I will oblige him to come to some Resolution. Madam, what can I do more?* Donna Joanna, took him up short, for there is no better Prompter than Anguish of Mind, and said to him, *Yes Sir, you can do more, not give him Absolution, if he does not perform that Moment, and go your way to your Cell, for you will be nearer Heaven in it than where you are. You are the Supreme Judge in the Confession Seat, the King is the Criminal and I the Person wrong'd, and the Widow in St. Luke's Gospel, and tho'*
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his Crown were on his Head you are greater than he in that Place ; so you declare among yourselves. He was struck Dumb and Senseless, for the Truth gives a Mortal Wound.

The other Story is of the Daughter *Donna Gregoria*, with the President *Roderick Vazquez*. He having still kept that Young Maiden in Hand with a Thousand vain and deceitful Answers, that Father and Children should be satisfied and their Business concluded immediately, the next Day, at *Christmas*, and the Week after ; and perceiving that these were only empty Words and his Actions spoke the Truth, and that he was going to plunge into the deep and overthrow Justice, and to overwhelm Parent and Children and all they had ; *Donna Gregoria* for the last Time, went to speak to *Roderick Vazquez*, with all her Brothers and Sisters, an Uncle of her own and an Aunt of *Antony Perez*. She went in with all her Brothers and some others that bore her Company, and desir'd him, *to sit down, to hear and to take notice.* Those that could sate down, for the little Children leant against their Sister, she being made a Mother before she was so, and they all Orphans, tho' they had Father and Mother living, yet Widowers, that they may claim God Almighty's Promises on all Accounts. Then she spoke thus. *Your Lordship has promis'd me so and so, and this thing and the other, and this Day and to Morrow, as if that to Morrow were never to come.* (here she purposely repeated to him all his Promises and Times prefix'd and all come to nothing) *Having observ'd what a Slave*

you make of me, as if it were a mighty Conquest and glorious Action to impose upon a Maid, and believing it proceeds from your thirsting after this Blood ; and that like an old Man who returns to suck the Breast again, you desire it for your Sustenance and to become Young again with it, as Blood so newly parted from the Nurses Breasts ; that my Parents may not endure so much, nor we ourselves, being suck'd so leasurely and by Mouthfuls, I have therefore brought you hither all this innocent Blood. This is it we all come for. Drink it up my Lord, Gorge yourself with it at once, tho' you loose the Pleasure of doing it by Leasure. Conclude and make an End of us at once. Here we are. What I am going to relate is no Jeast, those that beheld this Spectacle told it. That President, the only Judge in this Cause, at Seventy Years of Age, well vers'd in the Gravity and Sedateness of the Art of Ambition, belonging to his Profession, being then seated, not before Senators, or Lawgivers, nor before Grandees or Gray-hairs, or Persons in high Post and Dignity, but before a Flock of innocent Children, started up in such Disorder, Surprise and Confusion, that he began to step about the Room from Corner to Corner and round it, bowing his Body, and crossing his Arms, as he went to and from those I have Nam'd and said, to the Unkle and Aunt. *Madam, Sir, bid Donna Gregoria hold her Peace and say no more.* These Words he often repeated. The Girl, for since she was so, and this is a Combat of a Child with an old Man, of one demanding Justice with a Judge, of one unlearn'd with

with a learned President, it would be a wrong to her Honour in this Duel, not to Name her Sex and Age, since God confounded all the Magick of the *Egyptian* Enchanters with Gnats; this Virgin Child taking Courage, as now engag'd in Battel, for no School can instruct like that of Innocence, and a heavy Heart and the Spirit God gives in such Times of Need, went on and said. *Sit down, my Lord; Compose yourself, my Lord; hear, my Lord, dispatch us, or drink up this innocent Blood, and make an End of us, and of snatching our wretched Souls from our Bodies, which being grown Old in Troubles before we are well born, are grown very Burdensome to us already.* All this she spoke so emphatically, so feelingly, with such natural Action, attended with Sighs and Tears of the Standers by and the Cries of the Children, that I declare, I cannot express half the Circumstances of that Passage; for tho' I repeat almost the same Words *Donna Gregoria* deliver'd, and the Standers by confirm'd, yet I cannot come near the Life and Spirit, they receiv'd from her in that Distress. That Girls Sense, Judgment and natural Eloquence may very well be extoll'd, without being guilty of any Excess, and may be said to exceed, not only her Years, but even all human Art. Besides, the Occasion and the Dismalness of that Passage and that miserable Sight, may easily be guess'd at, since what I write, tho' but a dead Representation of the Life, cannot but move any Heart of Stone, that reads it, to Compassion. The President would not sit down again; for nothing

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so much disorders a Man as the Guilt of Conscience and the Confusion that attends it ; but continu'd repeating the same Words and distracted Actions. *Donna Gregoria* perceiving he neither heard nor understood, was forc'd to take her leave and depart with her melancholy Company. Yet whatever they may think, even where they are, the Prisoners that are most confin'd and loaded with Irons, have the Two most powerful Solicitors in Nature, Innocence and their Wrongs to plead for them ; and the greatest Orators are not able to affect the Ears, and move the Passions as they do ; for besides all their other Advantages, God has allow'd them one, which is that they both go together in the Demand of Justice, and be Witnesses and Counsel for one another, and may close the Process of those he Judges in this World ; as will happen in this Case, if Right be delay'd by Man. Let not the Guilty confide in the Delay, for tho' it seems to come slow, it still draws near the appointed Time, and the longer it is kept off, the more the Debt is enhanc'd by the Interest the heavenly Punishment brings along with it.

Antony Perez got into *Aragon*, with Difficulty enough, as being very Weak, and disabled by the Rack, and by his other tedious and continual Sufferings, which it is easy to judge, must have consum'd a Body that was neither Brass nor Stone. He would not go away into forreign Countries, nor abscond, but stay'd at *Calatayud*, the first City in *Aragon*. Less than Ten Hours after him, there came confuse Orders and Promises,

mises, without any legal Form, to arrest and detain him. These were not to the Magistrates, but to a private Gentleman in the City. They earnestly press'd to secure him alive or dead, before he pass'd the River *Ebro*. *Antony Perez* took into a Monastery of Dominicans. The Gentleman repair'd thither, told him he was a Prisoner, and appointed him a Cell to be confin'd to. So irregular were all their Proceedings, that a private Man took upon him to play the Judge, without showing any Commission for it, and that a Church, which has the greatest Priviledges of any in that Kingdom, should be made a Prison. The whole City was in a Commotion in Favour of *Antony Perez*, and amaz'd to see Justice run down and confounded, and at the Threats made him in the King's Name, if he went away, or pass'd the River *Ebro*. All Men admir'd at the Mystery of passing or not passing *Ebro*. As soon as *Antony Perez* came to *Calatayud*, he sent the King a Letter, which I do not insert here, because it is in the Memorial, it was all in his own Vindication, and to express how much he had always desir'd and endeavour'd that such Trusts and Secrets should not be brought into open Court. All this avail'd no more than what had been done before. On the contrary he was order'd to be arrested, and the King's Orders to that Effect sent away with much Expedition. The Crime laid to his Charge was the Death of *Escovedo*. But in the King's Name and at his Sute and adding the Accusation, that *Antony Perez* had declar'd he had been kill'd by the King's Command,

Command, whereas he had not commanded it ; this because after the Party had compounded he could not be brought to Tryal, for the Death only, according to the Laws and Priviledges of *Aragon*, where the King cannot Prosecute but as a Party. He was taken out of the Monastery, which gave great Scandal and endanger'd raising the whole City, for all Degrees of People were in Arms, even to the Priests and Scholars, many of them with Pistols under their Cassocks, and had *Antony Perez* consented that they should stand it out upon the Priviledges of the Monastery and with Force of Arms, they had not taken him out. He would not, but rather desir'd them all to be quiet and suffer him to be taken out, and carry'd away Prisoner, provided Proof might be made of the Breach of Priviledge, and of his Right to it, that he might make his Advantage of it in due-Course of Law ; for tho' he had suffer'd so much in *Castile* on the same Account, yet he resolv'd to give further Testimony of his Inclination and the Confidence he repos'd in his Innocence, and in his King's Justice ; believing and hoping, that having chang'd the Air, as from an unwholsome Place, as also the Physitians, who had so far mistaken the Cure of that Distemper, it would meet with better Success. But when the Air is once infected, it spreads and communicates it self to all the neighbouring and even remote Provinces. He was brought to *Zaragoza* with much Noise and great Guards, and a Contention started about Jurisdiction betwixt the Governour and the Justice of *Aragon*. As soon as

Antony

Antony Perez was in Prison, he again writ to the King, desiring his Majesty to take Notice of the Obstinacy of his Ministers in persisting in the Wrong, and to permit him to be brought to the Necessity of discharging himself, by discovering such Secrets as his Majesty was conscious of. Besides, he sent to him one of the most considerable religious Men in *Aragon*, having first made him an Eye Witness of the true Vouchers he had under the King's Hand, to all particulars laid to his Charge and other Affairs. The King heard him Two or Three Times thoroughly, and had convincing Proofs of what was urg'd in his Hands, and even some Papers under his own Hand to convince him of the Truth of it ; and as the religious Man afterwards said, the King seem'd pleas'd with the Service done him in giving that Advice. But, when the religious Man repair'd to the Confessor upon the same Commission, it was not so well receiv'd. Either he believ'd there was nothing in it, and that there were no Vouchers, as relying on the Papers he got from the Wife, for nothing could stop the Process begun ; or else it was the Will of God that at length the Truth should be unravell'd, which human Malice endeavour'd to conceal with so much Art and such Wrong to the Innocent. And even in this particular they made use of Artifice, giving him no Answer, in hopes the Time the Law allows would elapse ; for in the Kingdom of *Aragon* they are more precise than in others, and when the Hour is past a Man has no Redress upon Earth. Therefore *Antony Perez*

rez in Pursuance of the Law of God and Nature,
 and in Defence of his Honour, Wife and Children,
 was oblig'd to make use of part of the Papers he
 had. I say a part, because he did not deliver
 them all, and he might make a new Defence,
 and by a new Charge upon his Prince with those
 he has still left him in his Banishment. His
 Defence was so authoris'd that it all consisted of
 original Papers to him under the King's own
 Hand, and under his own to the King, with the
 Answers to them writ by the King himself ;
 Minutes of the King's and his own Letters, no-
 ted in the Margent by the King ; Letters from
Don John of Austria to *Antony Perez* ; Letters
 for him from the Secretary *John de Escovedo*,
 some of them all of their own Hand-writing,
 others in Characters, descipher'd by the Clergy-
 man above-mention'd, cited by *Antony Perez* in
 his Depositions on the Rack ; Letters from the
 Confessor *F. James de Chaves* ; so much of every
 sort and the Papers all of them so link'd together,
 and containing a Thousand other Secrets, besides
 the Matter then in Hand, that, without any
 magnifying I believe there never was such ano-
 ther Process, nor such a Defence since the Cre-
 ation. In short, there remain'd nothing mate-
 rial for Witnesses to make out, but the proving
 of the Hands. Nay, there was one singular
 Circumstance more in this Defence, that he
 scarce presented any Paper, but what was noted
 in the Margin, and mark'd under the King's own
 Hand, from the very Time the Letters were de-
 liver'd and the Things hapned ; which is the
 most

most authentick testimonial Papers are capable of, and has astonish'd the World, but more particularly the suffering of such a Cause and such Materials to be thus expos'd. Besides *Antony Perez* drew up an Information, or Memorial of the Matter of Fact to be deliver'd to the Judges, his Council giving him the Form to make it useful at his Tryal. For tho' the Papers themselves very plainly prov'd the Design and every Thing that *Antony Perez* was to prove, yet being all link'd together and interspers'd with other Affairs of a different Nature, as not being writ for Proceedings in Law, nor with any Thought of their being put to such use, but as occasion and great Affairs occurr'd, they thought it was expedient that one who was an Artist and vers'd in State Affairs of that Consequence, should compile the Substance and lay before the Judges the Matter of Fact in that Cause, and explain to them the Connexion of so many Matters as those Papers contain'd. This Memorial was generally call'd *Librillo*, a little Book, for no other Reason but because *Antony Perez* caus'd it to be writ out and bound like a Book, for the aforesaid End. There some part of the Origin of so many Monsters as human Malice and Imprudence has produc'd on Account of *Escovedo's* Death, will appear. His Death the Catholick King decreed, as absolutely necessary to prevent the embroiling of his Kingdoms and Others, and perhaps the whole World, as might be apprehended from *Don John of Austria's* Intelligences. Therefore, tho' I deviate a little from my main Design, I will

will not forbear making some Reflection on what I knew and has appear'd. It is, that what was then fear'd and caus'd so great a Disorder because of the Harm it might do at home, when manag'd by *Don John of Austria*, was afterwards embrac'd to do Harm to others; and some new Ministers laid hold of the Opportunity to ingage their King in giving under-hand Supplies and publick Assistance to foreign Nations, to carry on Designs impracticable by Art and Nature, with so great an Expence of Treasure, of Men, and of Reputation; the Undertaking being such as requir'd a whole Age, and have empoverish'd their own Kingdoms and Subjects, and given a great Jealousy and Provocation to other Princes, who tho' they yeild to the Grandeur of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, yet they hate the Superiority of both, and would have them be kept in an equal Ballance, for the Preservation of the rest. But above all, this has been prejudicial and detrimental to that King, because the others being alarm'd and grown jealous, may, and according to the Rules of Self-preservation, ought to join in League and Confederacy, to the great Danger, Loss and Confusion, of that Crown; to the Dishonour of its Prince and even to his Shame, for he seldom receives Thanks for Favours granted to People that have mutiny'd; and to the stirring up of the Subjects, being themselves sent to dye abroad and oppress'd with Taxes to support and enrich a foreign Nation, which is no hereditary Ally, but rather a Competitor of its Greatness. And this contrary to the Methods
of

of preserving the Subjects in their Obedience, which are fix'd, unalterable, and common to all Princes, even in the Aids given to the Subjects of Princes, who are known Enemies and Infidels; and above all, contrary to the Rules of Policy in a Prince's latter Days, who has an Heir under Age, when it is a most receiv'd Maxim to take off all Occasions of Wars, to conclude Peace and enter into Alliances, as the best Bulwark for their Dominions and Successors, under those Circumstances; to conclude Marriages at Home and Abroad, to Right the wrong'd Subjects, and even to ease them of those Burdens that are above their Strength and unreasonable; to prevent, if Opportunity offers, their doing of it themselves, with the hazard of greater Mischiefs, of the publick Peace, and of their antient Possession; to settle the Minds of all People in their Dominions; and the Government of the Successor, and to open the Sluices for the Water to keep in an easy Course. This I have heard antient and experienc'd Men say is wholesome and beneficial Advice for an old Man to leave this World, or to continue in it, if Life will permit, and for the security of his Kingdoms and leaving them safe to his Successor, and gaining himself a glorious Name in History to Posterity.

I now return to my Relation, The King perceiving that Justice began to take Place in Favour of *Antony Perez*, he thought fit to be inform'd what would be the Conclusion of that Affair. To this Effect *Micer Baptist* the Judge of it was order'd to draw up a Breviate of the whole Proceedings.

ceedings. I have it from him that writ it. It was sent to the King, with Advice that *Antony Perez* must of necessity be acquitted. An excellent judicial way of Proceeding, for the Plaintiff, for the King was so, to tamper with the Judges and enquire into the Event. Whoever sees the Tryal will make the same Judgment, and many must have seen it, for abundance of Copies have been taken out and sent to several Parts; for the Case being so singular, and of such long depending, many Nations have had the Curiosity to look into it. The King understanding what was said above, and perceiving that *Antony Perez* must of necessity be acquitted, it was next resolv'd that the King should let fall the Sute, by that hard Method, which has made so much Noise, vulgarly call'd the *Separation*. The Purport of it was thus. *That the King desisted from that Sute, saving his Right, of commencing it again, wheresoever he should think fit. But that he declar'd that Antony Perez had offended and done him more Disservice than ever Subject did to Prince; and tho' there could be Vouchers produc'd against those which Antony Perez had presented, it was not done, because Persons of Quality were concern'd.* This Declaration has astonish'd all Persons; because, in *Aragon*, as I shall show hereafter, the King is but a Party, and there is a Court and Judge above him, in all his Sutes against Subjects. The Court is that of the Justice of *Aragon*, and the King owns it as such, and so he own'd it that Day, when his Sollicitors prosecuted *Antony Perez*,

rez, as they thought fit; and he owns it as such in the manner and very Words of the *Separation*. I know not whether they sign'd that Paper, who contriv'd it; or what they were thinking of, for it is full of Inconsistencies; for the King, as a Party could make no such Declaration, but only a bare *Separation*: Nor as Party could he wrong his own Royal Authority, and yet they seem to do so, who advis'd a King to come to Words with a Subject. Besides that even as a King, tho' he looks upon himself as Sovereign Lord, yet according to the Laws of God and Man, with Respect to Princes be it spoken, he cannot make any such Declaration, without full Proof and legal Judgment given. Besides, if, as is mention'd in the *Separation*, he would not produce Vouchers in Answer to those of *Antony Perez* in regard to third Persons; how came that Zeal, that Consideration, that Obstacle to vanish in a few Hours time; for but Five Days after the *Separation*, *Antony Perez* was question'd again for the same Facts and after the same manner, in the Court of the Inquest. Furthermore, if *Antony Perez*, as has been said, and is a known Truth, presented no other Vouchers, but Papers under his King's Hand, and not One or Two, but Five Hundred and odd, and some of them a whole Sheet or Two of Writing from the Subject to the King, and from the King to the Subject, how can it be pretended that Vouchers could be produc'd against those of *Antony Perez*? For there can be no Papers of greater Authority than those under a King's Hand, unless they say

so great a Christian Prince would deny his Word and Hand. A more Absurdity and most heinous Offence against the Prince. This is enough to confound any Man, and to oblige the Prince, who is so wrong'd and his Successors (if the Predecessor has been so much impos'd on) to inflict a severe Punishment on those Councillors that advis'd him to sign such a *Separation*. Besides all this and all the other Particulars to be admir'd in this Case, if there was any Truth in those Crimes, why did not they punish and make an End of him in so many Years, but on the contrary, sometimes treated of an Accommodation, and at other times shew'd him singular Favour, as bringing him several times back to Court, and allowing him there to be visited, as has been said, by Grantees, Noblemen, Persons in the greatest Posts, the King's Servants, and some of them very near to his Person, all with the King's Knowledge and Consent; and to be consulted during his Confinement, and ask'd Questions concerning the greatest State Affairs, and such like Favours, all of them proceeding from the King's Grace and Inclination. Certainly this is the greatest Contradiction that ever appear'd in any Cause. In short, it seem'd contrary to all human Reason, that *Antony Perez* could be guilty of what the Act of *Separation* suggests, before his Imprisonment, nor can the original Papers, by him presented, as has been said, in his Vindication, prove any such Matters; nor those he still has, which are still more intimate and contain very great personal Trusts and Promises of Favours;

Favours; but they rather prove the contrary, and that he was in high Esteem, or at least deserv'd it. Then during his Imprisonment he could not commit any such Crimes; unless his Defence, when reduc'd to the last Extremity, was a Crime and Offence, for that it caus'd so much Shame and Confusion; and this must be it, since that unaccountable *Separation* follow'd the Defence. However, it was not *Antony Perez* that gave this Offence, because he clear'd himself when Necessity compell'd, and after so many Years, and such Proofs of his Fidelity, and Secrecy; after the aforesaid Precautions given, and warn'd by what was past, and the Continuance of his Persecutions, and of the Malice of his Enemies, and lest he should be serv'd as *Piso* was. Of whom *Tacitus*, in the Life of *Tiberius*, writes, that he was put to Death for want of clearing himself with his Prince's Orders he had by him, and by trusting to the Promises of *Sejanus*, for I believe there are *Sejanus's* in all Ages, and God grant there be not such Princes. For Honour never suffers, when the Prince's Anger appears bare-fac'd, and History declares the Truth to future Ages, and those present so palpably discover it. The Offence, in right Reason, was given to the King, by the Inventors of that Contrivance and Machination, and by those who gave the King such Advice, and manag'd an Affair of that Nature so indiscreetly. *Antony Perez* on his side, when compell'd to it, as has been made out, clear'd himself and by his Defence clear'd the King, shewing what substantial Mo-

tives there were for that Action. God's Providence often orders it so, that the Contrivances of Malice to prove *Antony Perez* disloyal to his King, should fall upon the evil Ministers, as lessening the King's Honour by being the Cause of revealing such Secrets. But to conclude with this Part, that it may appear that *Antony Perez* us'd all his Endeavours to avoid clearing himself by these Papers, I declare he could have produc'd others still more pregnant and forcible against the Separation.

Five Days after the Separation, *Antony Perez* was put upon the Tryal by Inquest, which is of the Nature of the Inquest before mention'd in *Castile*, as shall be shown hereafter. There he was question'd about the same Points as the first time; only they added, that, he rejoyc'd when any News came from *France*, which were advantageous to that King, and was sorry for the bad, and so the contrary in News that concern'd the Catholick King. Besides that he had a Mind to make his Escape into *Bearne*, or *Holland*. The Judge of the Inquest examin'd him to these Points. He answer'd, *That to the last Article he had no Answer to make, only to call upon God to Witness, and Judge how much Wrong they did him, since Men took upon them to dive into his Thoughts and private Wishes, which are only known to God, and to beg of him that he would not suffer any on Earth to vie with him for his Honour's Sake, since he calls himself a jealous God. That to the other Points he return'd the same Answer he had before given in,*

and

and made out at the Tryal before the Justice of Aragon, where the King and his Council had laid the same Things to his Charge, and that he had no more to add, unless it were more and more Vouchers, which would be as provoking as the former. He also enter'd his Protestation to this Effect. That they should take heed what they did. That they should at length be satisfied with so many Injuries done to their King, and give over laying the same Things to his Charge at so many Tryals. That since he was put upon the Inquest only as the King's Secretary and Servant, and he had been already try'd, or rather condemn'd in Castile by the same Court, it was contrary to all Law to try a Man twice for the same Thing. That the Inquest could no way affect him, by reason there were several other particular Priviledges in Favour of him. And above all, that he did declare to them, that the Papers he could produce upon this new Tryal, to the same Effect, contain'd several Secrets and Trusts of yet much nearer Concern, and these he should be oblig'd by the natural Law of Self-preservation to expose, tho' they should be over and above Measure, since he was put upon such unreasonable and illegal Tryals. That to prove he was as sincere in this Point as in what was past, he was willing privately to give Proof of it to any Person the King should appoint. That they would do well not to drive him too far, because if they did he should be oblig'd to expose to the Eyes of the World more Testimonials of his Fidelity, to the King's own Dishonour, to the Detriment of Third Persons, and to the scandalizing

of all Persons in general. Besides all this he at the same time employ'd Two Persons of Note, as he had done before the first Tryal, to the Archbishop of *Zaragoza*, Cousin German to the Marquess *de Almenara*, desiring of him, To send to the Catholick King, and put a stop to the Scandal given; or that if he, under the Secrecy to be observ'd by a Priest, would be convinc'd of the Truth of what he said, he would shew him the Proofs of it. This avail'd no more than it had done the first time, for all Men had a Mind to see the wonderful Game Fortune had been so long diverting part of the World with. He was forc'd to enter his Protest himself, for the Lawyers durst now scarce name, much less plead for him, by reason of the Threats us'd to them by the Marquess *de Almenara*, in the King's Name, so bare-fac'd was the Persecution against him, and the Royal Scepter thus chang'd into an offensive Weapon, and Instrument of private Revenge. But I cannot here Copy the real Protest, which is what he said upon the Spot, for he press'd the Judge so home and so vehemently, that he was amaz'd and knew not what to Answer, but shrunk his Head down betwixt his Shoulders. I mention'd a while ago the Charge they laid to *Antony Perez*, that he design'd to get away into *Bearne*, or *Holland*. It is to be observ'd that the Ground they had for that Accusation, was the Deposition of a Servant, suborn'd by the Marquess *de Almenara*, who us'd to be present at the Meetings and Consultations of the Councillors that pleaded for him, where
he

he sometimes heard them say, That since it plainly appear'd, that the Intent of so much Persecution and so many Tryals, was no other than his Ruin and Destruction, they were of Opinion, that if he came to be set at Liberty by due Course of Law, which was clear on his side, he should get out of the King's Dominions, into those of some free and absolute Prince, where Passion, provok'd by the Malice of his Enemies, might not reach him, for he could not otherwise be in Safety or Quiet, whilst he liv'd. And to this Effect they could think of no Place of Safety, but those already nam'd, of *England*, or *Turky*; because he could not be safe in *France* by reason of the Troubles of that Kingdom, and the Intelligence the Catholick King held there; nor in *Italy*, because of the Dependance those Princes have on the Crown of *Spain*, or rather because of the Humour of the present Age. In short, *Antony Perez's* Business went no farther in the Tryal by Inquest, for the Proceedings of it were stopp'd by due Course of Law; for *Micer Toralva* was condemn'd by the *Seventeen at the Sute of *Antony Perez*, for the Wrong done him, in delivering him up to that Arbitrary Court, and in pursuance to his Condemnation, it was declar'd, that the Inquest could not reach *Antony Perez*, nor the King proceed against him that way.

Before I proceed it will be convenient to declare what this Inquest is, to shew the Intent of

* This Court of the Seventeen is explain'd in the Sequel.

so many several Tryals and of the *Separation*. The Inquest is an Arbitrary Tryal there is in *Aragon*, by a peculiar Law, well worth the knowing. One of the first Kings of that Country perceiving how great the Priviledges and Immunities of the *Aragonians* were, and how small the Prince's Power, he said, *Then what Power have I left over my Servants and Officers?* They answer'd him in these Words. *Do you with your Officers and Servants as you will.* Hence comes the Kings of *Aragon's* using that Arbitrary Power of the Tryal by Inquest, so call'd *ab inquirendo*. In this Sort of Tryal there is no Law but the King's Will. This goes so far, that the Advocate *Micer Garces*, a great Minister to the King of *Aragon*, was secretly proceeded against by the Viceroy of *Aragon*, and then sent for, and he thinking he was summon'd to some Council, or Debate, as soon as he came into the Viceroy's Apartment, was strangled, and within half an Hour after carry'd a-cross a Mule in his Silk Gown before his own Door and his Wife's Eyes. But the King of *Aragon* has not this absolute Power over any but his *Aragonian* Servants and Officers, who are in *Aragonian* Employments, as he is King of *Aragon*, particularly in the Affairs of that Kingdom. Nay, by the Laws of God and Nature no Temporal Prince on Earth has any such Power, nor could the *Aragonians* give such a Power. What they did was only excepting the said Persons from their peculiar Immunities, and leaving all Persons at their own Peril to serve the King. So that the Design of the *Separation* was to remove *Antony Perez* to any Arbitrary Court, because that of the Justice of *Aragon* is the Supreme, and can as well condemn the Prince as the Subject; and this Court accountable to that of the Seventeen and to *Lex Talionis*, as shall appear hereafter. I will not forbear giving an Account, that the Author of this Contrivance of bringing *Antony Perez* to the Inquest, who was an *Aragonian* Historian, was soon Judg'd by Heaven. For going
Home

Home one Night in perfect Health, he sat down in a Chair and dy'd. This Judgment the People made of his sudden Death. These Affairs were left thus, without coming to any final Decision, and *Antony Perez* remain'd in Prison and under his Sufferings, as well acquainted with that Condition, and only God's Mercy to trust to.

The Malice of Ministers was not quell'd, but still tended to its End, which was the Destruction of *Antony Perez*, and the concealing of the Truth of this Story. They perceiv'd that no legal Proceedings in Criminal Courts would bring him to his End, but that he always came off with undeniable Evidence. They reflected there was no way to get him out of *Aragon*, which was the Thing they aim'd at. They knew that, tho' they had put that Kingdom into Disorder, and subverted the Course of Justice to destroy him, yet, according to the Laws and Privileges of that Country, it would be very hard to bring him to his End in a legal manner, in the Prison where he was. At last the Devil, and his Associates invented another Contrivance to compass their Ends, which was by some Slight to turn him over to the Inquisition, as if they had said, *We shall not find any occasion against him, except we find it against him concerning the Law of his God.* Dan. 6. 5. To this Purpose they presently contriv'd to suborn some Witnesses. Among the rest, they made use of the Servant above-mention'd, before corrupted by the *Marques de Almenara*. To back him they pitch'd upon half a Dozen Criminals condemn'd to Death, who were in the same Prison, and did not so much as know *Antony Perez* by Sight. They offer'd them a Pardon, their Lives and Liberty, and daily fed them with Money; and all, that they might swear something against *Antony Perez*, for which he might be remov'd to the Inquisition. Among those here mention'd they suborn'd one *John Luis de Luna*, Son to *Micer John Luis de Luna*, and one *Navarro* of *Cellas*,
and

and a gilt Leather-maker of St. Giles's in Zaragoza, who then hapned to lie in the Prison of the *Manifestation*. What these Witnesses forg'd, was the same that was added at the Tryal by Inquest above-mention'd, viz. That if he once got his Liberty, he would be gone into *Bearne*, or *Holland*; as if it had been a known Offence to God and Man to Travel into those Parts, or that he who flies a known and arbitrary Oppression, could be confin'd to a certain Place of Refuge. They added, that he had spoke Words of Despair, on Account of the Wrong done him, and that he was a Wizard and Conjuror, by which means he was so generally belov'd by all Men; as if this Favour and Affection, especially when it is so Universal, were to be purchas'd any way, but by the Gift of Heaven. Now to show that all this was mere Contrivance and Subornation, it will be convenient not to omit, nor defer giving an Account of what hapned in this Affair.

The Conspiracy and Combination betwixt the King's Officers and the Inquisitors being discover'd, *Antony Perez's* Council petition'd the *Zalmedina* of *Zaragoza*, Chief Justice of that City, call'd *Galacian Cerdon*, praying, That Information might be taken *ad futuram rei memoriam*, of that Combination, and the suborning of Witnesses, and that the said Witnesses might be there examin'd to the said Subornation. The *Zalmedina* proceeded according to Law. Those Three I have nam'd were examin'd. *Navarro* of *Cellas* depos'd, That the matter stood thus. That the Goaler *Antony Lopes de Ores*, and some of the *Marques's* de *Almenara's* Servants had been earnest and press'd him with Gifts, Promises, and Threats to inform against *Antony Perez*. That they brought him a Note from the Inquisitor *Molina*, to encourage him so to do, and with it a Paper they would have him to sign. That he sign'd it, without knowing the Contents. That to the End he might swear Truth, that he had heard such things of *Antony Perez*, they first told and recited them to him, and

and in Conclusion he Sign'd the Paper. That to clear his Conscience he recanted and deny'd what he had said, and swore he was so far from knowing those things of him, that he had no Knowledge of Antony Perez. Nay he further declar'd, That before all that, the Prison having hapned to be broke, they had promis'd him a Pardon and his Liberty, if he would declare that had been done by Antony Perez's Order; and that he should contrive some Hubub to kill John Francis Mayorini. That he refus'd to do the first, but the latter he attempted, and hurt him very much, with a Design to kill him. John Luis de Luna recanted in the same manner, before the same Judge. The Gilt Leather-maker of St. Giles's did the same at his Death, before the Curate of his Parish and Witnesses, saying, That all he had depos'd against Antony Perez was false, and he had been suborn'd by the Persons aforesaid. After Don Alonso de Vargas came to Zaragoza with his Army, Navarro of Cellas and John Luis de Luna, were taken up by the Inquisition, brought out in the publick Act and condemn'd, for having recanted, to the Gallies for Six Years, and to have Two Hundred Lashes. The Zalmedina was apprehended by the Inquisition for having taken their Information, condemn'd to Six Years Banishment at Oran, and to lose his Employment, and both he and his Children to be incapable of it, which is, punishing a Man for doing Justice. Besides, what has been here said, the Kingdom took a very formal Information of all I have related, and other Particulars of Contrivances and Subornations against Antony Perez. This Information the Kingdom sent up to the King, and to the Cardinal of Toledo Inquisitor General, to justify itself and all those that were concern'd, and had a Hand in rescuing Antony Perez from the Inquisition, and restoring him to the Prison of the Manifestation, on the Twenty Fourth of May.

The Officers of the Inquisition made use of the aforesaid Pretence to lay hold of *Anthony Perez*, and
 accor-

accordingly on the Twenty Fourth of *May* he was snatch'd away by them, without any Notice given, in Breach of the Priviledge of the Manifestation, and others, and all the Rights of the Patient. The People from the highest to the lowest, seeing the Contrivance, the Conspiracy, the Subornation of Witnesses now appear bare-fac'd, and *Antony Perez*, thus snatch'd away, without any legal publick Proceeding, but only a private Ceremony, plainly discover'd the Malice of the Practice, and suspecting that the Marquess *de Almenara* design'd to hurry him away into *Castile*, all of them unanimously ran to Arms in a Moment, and with a general Cry demanded him, and he was accordingly restor'd by the said Inquisitors, and deliver'd into his former Prison. I say all, because all had a Hand in this Action, from the Viceroy, Lords, Gentlemen and Clergy, to the meanest Person. It was the most wonderful Spectacle and strangest Change of Hope and Despair that perhaps ever was seen. For *Antony Perez*, who Four Hours before had been dragg'd away, without so much Leasure as to know the meaning of it, was recover'd with loud Cries, at the publick Request, with Threats and Performance of them, with Fire and Sword, the Destruction of Houses, and the Hazard of great Calamities, and total Confusion of that City and Kingdom. It ran so high, that Three or Four Thousand Men laid Siege to the *Aljaferia*, formerly a Palace of the *Moorish* Kings, now the House of the Inquisition, and gather'd Wood to set Fire to it, unless they would deliver up *Antony Perez*, to them. The Viceroy was forc'd to come abroad in Person, without any State as Viceroy, and to thrust himself in among the People, saying, *I come not hither as Viceroy, but as Bishop of Tervel, as one of you, you see it, compose yourselves, for I'll bring him, I'll restore him to you, I go for him myself.* Several Noblemen went backwards and forwards. The Viceroy, with the Earls of *Aranda* and *Morata*, and others, went

went into the *Aljaferia*, they demanded *Antony Perez* of the Inquisitors for the publick Peace and their own Safety. They deliver'd him to the Viceroy and Earls, who press'd earnestly for him, because the People began already to attack the Gates of the *Aljaferia*; and they fear'd the Fury of the Multitude, and being pull'd to Pieces for the Faults of others. The Viceroy went down with *Antony Perez*, the People receiv'd him with dreadful Shouts of Joy. The Viceroy and Earls put him into a Coach, and desir'd him to look pleas'd to appease the Multitude, and to let them see and touch him. I say touch him, because all that could, took him by the Hands, squeez'd and kiss'd them, in Token of Joy and Congratulation. They desir'd he might be carry'd a Horse-back, that they might see all of him, for tho' they carry'd him there, they scarce believ'd their own Eyes.

The Multitude cry'd, *let Liberty live, let Antony Perez live.* The Case was much alter'd with the *Marquess de Almenara*; for when he thought he had it all to nothing, and that he had trampled on Justice, having that Morning gone backwards and forwards to and from the Inquisition to order the Martyrdom, full of Joy for having secur'd the Prize, which he now thought safe in his Talons, and to fly away with it into *Castile*, there to carve it out among the Guests invited to the Feast; who, tho' not many in Number were very Hungry, and the Reward they expected great, he I say in the midst of all this Expectation was apprehended at the same time that they were rescuing of *Antony Perez*. The Justice of *Aragon*, with some of his Lieutenants arrested him, not without legal Process, because that same Day the Officers of Justice had been oppos'd in his House. Such Confusion had he made. This arresting of him, prevented his and his Families being kill'd by the Multitude, and their firing the House he liv'd in, for a Parcel of the arm'd People had already beset it.

He

He was conducted a Foot to the Common Goal, misusing him as he went all manner of Ways, reviling, beating and wounding him, so that it was a Wonder they did not kill him by the way. The Cry was, *Let the Traitor, and Subverter of our Laws and Country Dye.* He begg'd Mercy and Confession. I declare it was a dreadful Day, and might have confounded and terrify'd human Malice, Perverseness, and Presumption, if it owns a God. I will not dilate upon the particular Actions of that Day, which were many and surprizing, because there is an exact Relation of it, which I will insert here, if I can get it before this Impression is finish'd. Let this suffice at present for the better Understanding of the Matter in Hand. The Marques dy'd on the 14th Day after, of the Blows and Wounds he receiv'd, and perhaps of the Pangs of Conscience, which are more fatal than the Hurts he receiv'd that Day. To conclude with this Affair, the Marques's Body was carry'd to *Castile* privately, in an Ox's Hide, lest the Multitude if they perceiv'd it should rise again; and *Antony Perez* was not carry'd away in the Chest the Marques had provided for that Purpose. This is Matter of Fact. Now it is remarkable, that the Owner of this Hide had it sew'd up and hung before his Shop Door for its extraordinary largeness, and every time the Marques pass'd by to the Inquisition, that being in the way, he laugh'd heartily at its extraordinary Size. It is likely he knew not what use it was to be put to, for we often Laugh, at what should make us weep.

All

All this did not put a Stop to the Prosecution of Malice. They fell to it again, and the more outrageously for the Fame of the last Disappointment. No Slight, no Contrivance was left unassay'd, to persuade some and terrify others. The Multitude listned and said nothing, but if they hapned to answer, said: *They would not interrupt the Course of Justice, but no Man must touch upon their Rights and Privileges, that they would dye for their Liberty, which was the highest Piece of Human Justice.* However, on the 20th of August following, a great number of Troops was got together, of the King's, of great Men, and of the City of *Zaragoza*; By the City I mean the Aldermen and other principal Men of it; for the People still defended their Privileges, and *Antony Perez*. Tho' that Day was appointed for the Execution of their Design, yet they durst not attempt it. The Contention increas'd; for it is the Nature of Rancour, as well as other Passions, never to give over till it has accomplish'd what it desires. Thus still there were more Contrivances, more Threats and more Promises us'd, and at length on the 24th of September that important Enterprize was again attempted, with great Preparations in Order to it, and particularly of 2000 disciplin'd Men, by Consent of the Magistrates. It was not the Will of God it should succeed, for the People resolv'd to resist, and rose in Arms so unanimously, that it produc'd the second wonderful Effect. It was such, that it must needs be known in all parts, and have caus'd a Dread of God's

Judgments, and some Reflection on the Fortune of *Antony Perez*. For who is he, in Respect to God, that such mighty Means should be us'd only for the Destruction of a Worm? Sure he has greater Ends in it, since he permits that all Nature, and the very Elements should conspire in that Kingdom with so great a Commotion and universal Scandal, and to the Wronging of so many innocent Persons. What hapned that Day for the Rescuing of *Antony Perez*, I shall not relate here, because there follows a particular Account of it. I will only assure, it is so true, that tho' the Strangeness of the Accident makes it look as if it were magnify'd, yet there is rather less than really happen'd. In short, *Antony Perez* was deliver'd out of Prison, as will appear by the Relation already mention'd, and this with such a general Commotion, with such Hazard to the State, with so much Danger to those that were to act against *Antony Perez*, with so much Slaughter of many of them, with such Terror to those that escap'd, with such general Satisfaction of all Ranks of People for his Deliverance, with such universal Blessing for it, that perhaps it is one of the most remarkable Passages, and most extraordinary Actions that has been known in many Ages. It was so extraordinary, that those who were only Lookers on, and there were of all Degrees in the City, and who before were struck dumb and overcome with Fear at such a dreadful Commotion, seeing him taken out of Prison by the Multitude, with the general Consent and Applause of all, to express their Satisfaction

ction stretch'd out their Hands, cross'd their Arms,
 and bless'd the Person deliver'd, with that Liberty
 Heaven had given their Hearts and Tongues.
 Let no Man pretend, that I make a Miracle of
 the Works of Nature, but it must be granted,
 that those are no ordinary ones, when Human
 Wisdom, Human Counsels and Human Art and
 Malice are disappointed, and that sure God op-
 poses them in a more than ordinary Manner.
 That Evening of the 24th of Sept. after the Peo-
 ple had left him in the House of *Don James de E-*
redia, Antony Perez took Horse, and went out of
Zaragoza publickly, with *Giles de Mesa* and a
 Friend, and two of those they call Footmen in
Aragon, a Throng of that Multitude of People
 bearing him Company half a quarter of a
 League, with Shouts and Blessings, and Vows to
 Heaven for his good Journey and Safety. He
 travell'd nine Leagues towards the five Towns.
 There he dismiss'd his Friends and Footmen, and
 for some Reasons remain'd upon a Mountain
 with *Giles de Mesa*. I am verily of Opinion, that
 Choice and Human Prudence have the least
 Share, even in this, and in all his other Motions
 and Actions under his Misfortunes. On this
 Mountain he continu'd three Days without any
 Water to drink, but only some red Wine, he
 carry'd with him, or any thing to eat but
 Bread. At Night he went about to seek
 Water, for by Day he lay still in his hiding
 place. There he receiv'd Advice, that the Gover-
 nour of *Zaragoza*, who had commanded the For-
 ces on the 24th of Sept. to secure him, was come

out in search of him, but slowly and in a Cart, being sick and disabled, with the Toil and Confusion of the aforesaid Day. For this Reason *Antony Perez* forbore continuing his Journey that way, tho' he had design'd to make his Escape; and this put him to some Trouble for his Safety, and to think what he should do. In this Distress *Don Martin de la Nuza*, an *Aragonian* Gentleman, I name him now, because he is dead, and out of the Reach of Malice, which was the Reason I did not name him before. This Gentleman sent to advise him, to return to *Zaragoza*, for he would take Charge of him, and contrive his Escape better from the City, than from the Mountains. *Antony Perez* resign'd himself up to him. He return'd to *Zaragoza* on the first of *Octob.* following. *Don Martin* met him near the City, he went in, and they discours'd about the Posture of Affairs, and what Way he would take to secure and save him. He carry'd him to his House, and entrusted two Friends with the Secret, one of whom carry'd him up all he was to eat. In the Day time *Don Martin* went about the City and attended the publick Affairs, at Night he bore him Company. Then they consulted about what hapned and what was to be done, but with little Success, by Reason of the Weakness of the principal Heads concern'd, which were so weak that they dropt off their Shoulders, as will appear by the Cruelties to be mention'd hereafter. At this time there were Messages carry'd backwards and forwards from the Inquisitors, and particularly from the Inquisitor *Morejon*, and from the Vice-Roy, they

they suspecting that *Don Martin* knew where *Antony Perez* was, or that he had him in his Custody. They all began to treat of an Accommodation, and came to Particulars. *Antony Perez* himself heard the Messages, the Debates and the Answers. The Inquisitors Messenger was the Lord of *la Pinilla*, his particular and intimate Friend, who had been fetch'd with a *Guyage*, that is a Safe-Conduct, without which he durst not have shown his Face, being under Sentence of the Inquisition for several Crimes. I cannot but observe here, that tho' it be so much condemn'd to offend innocent Persons, to compass the Punishing of one or many Offenders; yet in this Man's Case they have not only done so, but have pardon'd notorious and convicted Malefactors to persecute, I will not say an innocent Person, let Truth judg of that, but at least I must say, it is one, whom Power, Rancour and Envy have so long persecuted, without being able by so many Contrivances to destroy him, which makes him more than innocent, since it plainly appears, that all the Scope of this Perverseness is to make him guilty by hook or by crook, in Spight of Heaven and in Contempt of Truth. It is but reasonable here, to give an Account of one particular well worth knowing, to show how desirous *Don Martin de la Nuza*, was that *Antony Perez's* Affairs might be made up, and he not oblig'd to remove himself into foreign Parts, and under another Prince, and in Testimony of that Gentleman's Valour and Worth. It was thus. The Inquisitor perceiving, that nothing was concluded by the

Interposition of *la Pinilla*, or to speak plain, as may be judg'd by what appear'd, that he could not by that means impose upon *Don Martin*, he sent to desire he would give him a Meeting under the Security of his Word. *Don Martin* resolv'd to comply. He went at 11 of the Clock at Night with only one Friend to the *Aljaferia*, that ancient Palace of the *Moorish* Kings, without the City, where the Inquisition is kept. This was a great Resolution in *Don Martin*, because there were Soldiers in the *Aljaferia* already, on Account of the late Commotion in the City; but he went upon the Assurance, that if the Inquisitor play'd him false, the City would rise again, and upon the Inquisitor's Fear of it. He was two Hours with the Inquisitor in great Debate. *Don Martin* afterwards said, it was impossible to express all the Offers, Intreaties, sweet Words, loving Actions, Embraces and Kisses, still saying: Well *Don Martin*, where is Antony Perez? All this may be well believ'd, of one who conceiv'd the Archbishoprick of *Toledo* should be the Reward of his Practice, as shall be shown hereafter; for Human Ambition will hug the Devil for a much less Reward. *Don Martin* took his Leave, without coming to any Conclusion. At last it appear'd, that all this was meer Artifice, and only contriv'd to discover where he was, and keep him in Hand till *Don Alonso de Vargas* came with his Army. The Truth of it is sufficiently prov'd by original Letters, and those very scandalous, which fell into the Hands of *Antony Perez's* Friends. The same Letters prove the Combination,

tion, the Gifts and Promises to Spies and Witnesses against *Antony Perez*. One particular Letter from the Inquisitor *Morejon* was intercepted, to this Effect. *He gives an Account of the Forces the Kingdom was raising, and drew out of Zaragoza against the Army of Castile. He nam'd the Officers and Commanders appointed by the Kingdom. He advis'd the King to begin the War immediately, before the Aragonians could get their Troops together. He pass'd his Judgment on them, saying, They were like the Portugueses, but weaker, worse arm'd and stor'd with Canon.* Next came in *Antony Perez*, for he is the Mark at which Malice levels all her Shot. Of him he said, *That he had got full Information of those who were familiar with Antony Perez in Prison, and were of his Mess, and expected to know where he was, from one who gave him Intelligence of other Affairs.* Observe here the Price of persecuted Blood expos'd to sale so many several Ways, and to so many Purchasers; he further said, *That he allow'd the said Man an hundred Ducats a Year, but that the Man (if such a Varlet deserv'd that Name) was not so satisfy'd, and therefore he design'd to allow him more.* He advis'd that *Antony Perez's Wife and Children should be closer confin'd.* This shows that evil Counsellors are often the Cause of such Effects and Cruelties, and that Kings and Kingdoms are to be pity'd when such Advice takes place. The Reason he gave for that Cruelty was: *That the aforesaid Person had told him, that he had perceiv'd by the Father's Nature and Tendernefs for those dear Pledges, that it was the thing would most affect him; and that he had heard*

Antony Perez speak these Words, *I am in the wrong in not delivering my self up to be try'd as they would have me, to prevent the Sufferings of that Mother and those Children.* This is a Proof of the Father's good Conscience, for had he Cause to fear any Dishonour, it would be no Token of Love, when his delivering himself up must be to the Detriment of his Family. He concludes the Letter by assigning himself the Reward for such Merits, and said, *That the Archbishoprick of Toledo would be but a small Reward for such a piece of Service.* What a Conceit he had, that a Sacrifice of that Blood must be very meritorious? What will not Ambition attempt, when it confides in Flattery sent up to the Princes Ear? The Letter was not for any Superior of his, so that he was sensible, the Business he had undertaken, did not belong to an Inquisitor, but was fit for a particular sort of Servant of the King. Thus the Spiritual Judge comply'd with the Temporal Prince's Will and Passion. *Antony Perez* saw the Letter, and had it in his Hands, and has an authentick Copy of it, taken by a publick Notary, who knew the Hand and Subscription. This Man was one of those that design'd to be *Antony Perez's* Judges. The Inquisitor *Molina* was another of them. In the Process, made up by the Kingdom and sent up to the King, concerning the false Witnesses and Contrivances, above-mention'd, against *Antony Perez*, it was prov'd against this *Molina*, that he was met abroad at Mid-night, in the Habit and with such Weapons as are us'd by those who ramble at those unseasonable Hours, all of them ill be-

coming

coming his Post and Profession, managing against *Antony Perez*. I deliver Matter of Fact, and not all of it, and what is well known and mention'd in publick judicial Proceedings; for, should I discover what is secret, the very Russians would bless themselves. Every Man may judge of the whole. The 3^d Judge was *Don John de Mendoza*, Brother to the Marquess *de Cannete*, and Cousin-German to the Marquess *de Almenara*. These three were the Judges, and among those afterwards added, one was a Kinsman to *Peter de Escovedo*. Tho' *Antony Perez* dreaded these Proceedings, and ought to be sufficiently warn'd by what was pass'd, yet, that nothing might be omitted on his Side, he stay'd and expected, as will appear by the Sequel, to his and *Don Martin de la Nuca's* great Justification, to the greater Guilt of the Ministers and great Injury to the Catholick King, and I wish it may not be much to his Detriment and Disservice, and to call down a Judgment from Heaven, which they highly provoke, by inverting the Order of Nature, as they have done by these monstrous Proceedings, contriv'd by evil Counsellors, and brought forth by Malice. And therefore to show things were laid by Unjustice against that Man, I will give an Account of what was discover'd to *Antony Perez*, which was thus. A few Days before the 24th of Sept. the Day appointed for that mighty Enterprize of securing the Prisoner *Antony Perez*, *Don Alonso de Vargas* was commanded to set out in haste towards *Amegon*, to gather the Army, which lay quarter'd along the Frontiers of *Castile*, for the better Executing

cuting of the Resolution taken, for carrying of him into *Castile*, for executing their Revenge on others, and acting the Cruelties already begun upon that Kingdom; for Passion once rais'd and desirous of Execution, and which has Power to back it, carries all before it, like an Inundation. However, this Design was foreseen; for it is well known to credible Persons of several Ranks, that long before the Storm fell, a Man of Sense, and who was acquainted with such Tempests, told them, *What a Hurrican was drawing near, that they should not deceive themselves, nor believe the Report spread abroad concerning the gathering of that Army, which was marching against them, as that it was to support the French Leaguers, or in Pursuance of some Treaty with France, as was insinuated, for such an Army, so numerous, so well stor'd with Canon, Ammunition and other Necessaries, and at such a Time, could be for no other Intent, but to make Aragon a Province.* It is likely, he that said it, had had to do with Kings and important Affairs, and knew the Disposition of that Prince. The same Person told them many more Particulars and Mysteries, which were all Predictions of Reason and natural Foresight; all which have come to pass, and greater will happen to the Ruin of several particular Persons and of that Kingdom; and perhaps not only of that, but to the Overthrowing of the publick Peace, which Time will testify. For now the Judging of these Affairs depends upon sensible Demonstration, and inferior Causes; and judiciary Astrologers, and those who foretel by superior Influences may lye a Bed, and expect no Reward.

Whilst

Whilst *Perez* continu'd in this nature at *Zaragoza*, happen'd those great Commotions. *Don Alonso de Vargas*, gather'd his Army with all possible speed, on the Frontiers of *Aragon*; the Kingdom grew more and more into an Up-roar; because they plainly saw, that what was intended, was directly against their Privileges and Immunities; several Persons of all degrees, requir'd the Deputies of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, who Represent the whole Kingdom and all it's States, to present their Remonstrances in due Form, against that Violence and Breach of their Privileges, before the Justice of *Aragon* and his Lieutenancy, which is the Sovereign and Absolute Court, for Trying of all Differences between the King of *Aragon*, and his *Aragonian* Subjects; the Kingdom advis'd with it's Lawyers, what they might and ought to do, according to Law; and upon the Advice given, presented it's Remonstrances to the said Court, and in them demanded and requir'd, *That the Justice should take up Arms and March out against the Castilian Army Don Alonso de Vargas was bringing into the Kingdom, and this in pursuance of the 2d. Privilege, de Generalibus Privilegiis Regni Aragonum.* By which Privilege, no Man may bring Foreign Troops into *Aragon*, nor exercise a Jurisdiction with Sword in Hand, nor Arrest, or Wrong any Man, nor Spoil so much as a single Olive Garden; which last, are the expresse Words of the Charter. This, and all other Privileges were sworn to by former Kings of *Aragon*, and by his present Catholick Majesty
King

King Philip II. and Confirm'd by Popes, and their Observation enjoyn'd under most Severe Penalties. The said Remonstrances were receiv'd and read in due form of Law, by the said Court. All Formalities of demanding Justice we fulfill'd, besides some Pieces of Civility, out of Respect to the Prince. The Court receiv'd Informations, that the Army Commanded by *Don Alonso*, was design'd against the *Aragonians*; this was prov'd, and particularly, that *Don Alonso* had declar'd to the Army, *That provided they did not touch Churches or Monasteries, they might Plunder and make Waste.* Upon this, formal Judgment was given in the said Court, *That the Justice was oblig'd to take Arms, and the Kingdom to March out and oppose the coming of the Castilian Army.* These were the steps made to proceed to Judgment. In pursuance of it, the Justice was requir'd in Form to March out, as Head of the Kingdom, to perform what had been Resolv'd. He consented, and readily offer'd to comply. He, and the Kingdom, began presently to appoint all the Officers usual in Regular Armies, which were only led by some of the Prime Nobility and Gentry. Notice was given to all the Kingdom, of what had been Decreed by the Court of Justice. All Cities and Towns were appointed their Quota of Men and Provisions they were to Furnish, for Defence of their Country, against the Army of *Castile*. A considerable Number of Men was presently rais'd in *Zaragoza* and it's Territory. *St. George's Standard*, being the Standard of the King-

Kingdom, kept and appointed for such Exigences, was taken out. The Justice March'd out of *Zaragoza* in Warlike order, and well appointed, with all the Forces that could be got together, and with all the Nobility and Gentry then present, *Antony Perez* saw it. But some Persons being already misled, by Respect and Flattery to their Prince, the second Day after all that first part of an Army march'd out of *Zaragoza*, with it's General, it's Standard, and the Nobility attending, the Principal Men the Kingdom had Entrusted with it's Defence, left the Army, and left that Body without Head or Arms, so that it all moulder'd and fell to nothing. Now that this way of speaking, the Judgment given, the Declaration made, and this Attempt of putting it in Execution may not seem strange, or surprizing to those who are not acquainted with the Liberties of *Aragon*; and that the Event may not justify Injustice, it will be convenient to give some Account of the nature of that Kingdom, and of the Liberties and Privileges on which that Judgment, Resolution and Attempt was Grounded; for, tho' we somewhat deviate from the Bounds of the Title of this Paper, yet it will be very suitable to the main Design of this Relation.

After that general Desolation of *Spain*, occasion'd by an Injury done to a King, by a Subject, when the *Mores* had over-run it, without leaving so much as the Memory of a King, or Sovereign Lords, or Successor in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; the said Kingdom rescu'd it self

self out of the Hands of the *Moors*, and became
 their own Masters, without acknowledging any
 Superior upon Earth in Temporals. Being in
 this Condition, the *Aragonians* thought it would
 be convenient for their Peace and better Govern-
 ment, to have a Lord and Chief, who might
 Govern them by wholesome Laws, and such as
 should be proper for their Tranquillity and Pre-
 servation. An Ancient Restlessness, and the
 end of some People, as of the Children of *Israel*,
 who being too happy, and not knowing how
 to agree among themselves, and Live in Unity,
 seek for a Change, to their own Detriment and
 Ruin, and to their sufficient Cause to Repent.
 At length, they all agreed to Advise with the
 Pope about it, *And to Represent to him their Con-
 dition, their Desires, and their Reasons and Mo-
 tives for chusing a King.* The Pope, like a Pru-
 dent Father; in the Advice and Instructions
 he gave them, represented, *What God had done
 to his People, when they ask'd a King of him by the
 Prophet Samuel, and that in case they would have
 one, they should first settle their Laws and Form of
 Government upon very equal Terms, bating the Re-
 spect due to a Prince and Sovereign, suitable to
 their Condition, and to the Nature of their Nation.
 That to Check and Moderate the Natural Propensi-
 on of Men to encroach, they should appoint a third
 Person, as Umpire betwixt the King and them, and
 Judge above the King, in all Differences that should
 arise betwixt the King and Kingdom, in the Nature
 of the Ephori, Instituted by Lycurgus, and allow'd
 by Theopompus King of Sparta.* The Kingdom
 of

of *Aragon*, in Pursuance to this Advice, instituted its Laws, form'd its Privileges, settled the Rule they would be govern'd by, and among the rest appointed an Officer, whose Business it should be to decide all Controversies betwixt King and Subjects, and to maintain and preserve their Privileges. This Officer they call'd the Justice of *Aragon*. And it is worth observing, that they call'd him not *la Justicia*, in the Feminine Gender, to which the Word Justice belongs, but *El Justicia*, in the Masculine, that is, The Man that was to do Justice. For he must be very much a Man, to do Justice betwixt the King and a Subject, and God help him. One of the Privileges they establish'd, was that they call the *Manifestation*. This gives every Man Authority, to bring himself and his Cause before the said Justice, to redress any Wrong pretended to be receiv'd from any Jurisdiction or Power. The Authority of this Court is such, that it judges, and decides all Causes, tho' before definitively decided and adjudg'd by any other Court in the Kingdom, and this according to the known Privileges, without any Appeal lying to another Court. Nor has it this Power, by way of *Manifestation* only over Temporal Causes, but also over the Spiritual; for it has been often seen, that Causes already adjudg'd, and upon the Point of coming to Execution, have been remov'd, and the Parties set free. This and all the other Privileges establish'd by the Kingdom of *Aragon*, are printed by Authority of the King and Kingdom of *Aragon*, I refer my self to them and to the Annals

nals of the Secretary *Zurita*, who gives an Account of all these Affairs, and to whom ours and future Ages are much indebted for the Pains he took in compiling that History; for if Nations under God, are govern'd by Prudence, History is call'd the Source of Prudence. The Privileges are so great and ample, as may be imagin'd from those who had the Power of electing in their own Hands, and could set the Price and Conditions on which they parted with their Liberty, and gave Obedience. Yet were they so reasonable, that they have been preserv'd so many Centuries, as is well known, very peaceably and to the great Satisfaction of the Kings for being Masters of such Subjects. This particularly appear'd in the famous King *Ferdinand*, who, after he was King of *Castile*, and the Kingdoms thereto belonging, being advis'd by some *Castilian* Counsellors, *To bring the Aragonians under more Subjection, because there was too great an Equality at present.* He answer'd, *That besides his having inherited them on the same Conditions, he possess'd them, and having sworn to maintain them, on Pain of the greatest Censures, which Oath whosoever did break, would have just Cause to dread the Judgments of God, and besides the Faith due naturally to his Word, which the most barbarous Nations regard, he always observ'd it as a Rule between King and Subjects, that whensoever the Ballance was even, as to the Kingdoms Satisfaction, the Kingdom would be permanent, and the King safe in the Possession of it, and that when the Ballance was uneven, both would be always striving, not only to set it even, as it was before,*

before, but to rise above the other, and hence would ensue the Ruin of one or both of them. Among the rest of their Privileges, they order'd one, which was call'd of the *Union*, and contains two Parts, worthy to be known, and very pertinent to the Account I am giving. One was, *That whensoever the King should happen to infringe their Privileges, they might chuse another King; tho' he were a Pagan.* These are the very Words of the Privilege to this Effect. And here we must observe the ancient Form of the *Aragonians* in swearing their King, which is this; *We, who are as good as you, do make you our King and Lord, upon Condition that you keep our Laws and Privileges, and if not, Not.* Also the Manner of the Kings Swearing, to maintain the Liberties with so much Ceremony, and such an Acknowledgment of the Superiority of the Office of Justice of *Aragon*, both in Law and by the Nature of its Institution. For the Justice sitting on a Chair and cover'd, administers the Oath to the King kneeling before him and bare, who swears on a Crucifix and on the four Evangelists, that he will inviolably observe the Liberties and Immunities of that Kingdom, under most heavy Censures of Popes. And it is to be observ'd, that the King takes this Oath, before they swear Allegiance to him, which is done as in the Oath above. For this being an Election and Contract, made with those who gave up so much of their Liberty, it was and is but reasonable, they should first receive the Price agreed on, before they deliver the thing purchas'd. And this

this is a natural Practice, and so us'd by all Nations in Exchanges, especially for that Jewel which cannot be otherwise purchas'd. The other Part of the Law is the Privilege of *Union*, that all the Lords and great Men might joyn, and forbid the Supplying of the King with any of his Revenues, till the Subject aggriev'd had Right done him, and the Privilege infring'd was restor'd to its primitive Force. Besides that Towns and Castles belonging to every one of them might be appointed, as a Pledge of their Fidelity to the *Union*; to be put into the Hands of a third Person appointed by them all, upon Condition, and to the End, that whosoever of them assisted the King, before such Time as they had full Satisfaction for the Grievance complain'd of, should forfeit them. This done, the *Aragonians*, for their first King, or Prince, made Choice of a private Gentleman among them, call'd *Garzi Ximanenes*, and after him of some others successively, whose Names I cannot well remember, but the Substance of the Fact is as I deliver it. Afterwards, in Process of Time, some of the Kings of that Kingdom, forgetting, as Men are too apt to do, the Acknowledgment due for the *Aragonians*, having of their own Choice and Free-Will, deliver'd themselves up to be Subjects to a King; some of those Kings I say, began to think much of the extraordinary Liberty and Exemption of those Subjects, among them particularly King *Peter*, who was call'd of the Dagger. The Privilege that troubled him most was that of the *Union*,

Union, which allow'd them the Liberty of choosing a King, and therefore he us'd all his Endeavours to have it annull'd, or at least exchang'd for other Immunities. He urg'd it so far, using all Manner of Intreaties and other Means, that he brought it to be propos'd and debated in the *Cortes*, then sitting at *Zaragoza* in the House of the *Deputation*, which is still standing, but beautify'd, and the Room where they sat, is by Custom appointed for such Solemnities. To conclude, the Business came to be debated. The King waited without in a Gallery, as a Suitor, and full of Concern for the Event; for nothing on Earth so violently affects the Mind as the Desire of Rule. At length the *Cortes*, which in *Aragon* consist of four Estates, came to a Resolution. But to remove this Difficulty of four Estates, whereas all other Nations have but three, which are the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the Commons; it is to be observ'd, that in *Aragon* there is a fourth Estate, which consists of the Gentry and Men of Quality who have not Titles of Dukes, Marquesses, Earls and the like, given by Kings, tho' not inferior to them in Birth and Family. The Resolution of the *Cortes* was, that they consented to the annulling of the Privilege of the *Union* and Electing a King, provided that other Franchises were establish'd instead of it; being the same that are contain'd in the Chapter call'd *de Generalibus Privilegiis Regni Aragonum*, and many of them the greatest that Kingdom enjoys, as are some in Favour of the No-

bility and Gentry, and the absolute Power of Lords over their Vassals; but more particularly this Privilege we here speak of. *That they may lawfully take up Arms against any foreign Forces that shall enter their Kingdom to their Prejudice, tho' it be against their own King, and the Heir to the Crown, if he comes in that Nature.* King Peter having heard the Resolution, they were come to, granted all their Demands, and that very Moment, having the aforesaid Privilege in his Hand, he drew his Dagger, and tore the Privilege with it, cutting his Hand designedly at the same time, and saying, *That the Abolishing of such a Privilege, as for Subjects to be allow'd to chuse a King, ought to cost the Blood of a King.* Ever since, that King was call'd King Peter of the Dagger, and his Statue is now in the House of the Deputation, with the said Dagger in one Hand, and the Privilege in the other, where are also all his Predecessors and Successors, Kings of *Aragon*, till King Philip the II^d. In Pursuance of this Privilege, and the rest I have here mention'd, the *Aragonians* proceeded to the aforesaid Resolution, and began to act according to it. And to show how barefac'd, and free from any Apprehension of Offence or Crime they acted, as being well grounded on the Right of their Liberties, there is one notable Point to be observ'd, which is, that the Justices Court, when it declar'd that they might and ought to take Arms against the Army of *Castile*, at the same Time pronounc'd Sentence of Death against *Don Alonso de Vargas* and his Army,

my, and sent Messengers and Notaries to notify their Declaration and Judgment to him at *Beruela*, a Monastery of *Bernardine* Friars, on the Borders of *Castile* and *Aragon*; and they accordingly notify'd it, and requir'd him not to enter that Kingdom with arm'd Forces, under the said Penalty. And for a further Demonstration how far this went, it is remarkable, that *Don Alonso* endeavour'd to shun the Officers of the Kingdom, as suspecting the Import of their Message; till being inform'd that they said, they did not value his not hearing them, for they would affix their Notification on the Gates, he at last resolv'd to hear it, and they notify'd it to him, and return'd in Safety, tho' they were but four Men that perform'd it in the midst of an Army.

It will not be here amiss to insert a Commission, granted and sign'd by the Justices and Deputies of the Kingdom (who, upon such Occasions, exercise the supreme Authority there) to *Don Martin de la Nuza*, above-mention'd, a Person generally belov'd and respected in that Country, and Cousin to the Justice of *Aragon*. This Commission is of great Weight, to prove the Authority they had so to do, who pronounc'd that Sentence, and sign'd it, which implies rather Merit, than a bare Justification of those that obey'd it; is a Testimonial of the Innocence of those who have, and still do suffer Martyrdom for that Obedience, and for their Country, Laws and Rights; and a Confusion to those who

have advis'd and excited their King to such Innovations, and to disturb a Kingdom so loyal as that of *Aragon* is : I say, so loyal, for, besides all other Proofs of Loyalty, which their Histories are full of, that Kingdom out-does all others naturally in this Particular, because it freely made a King, which was an Act of the Will and Understanding. For those who proceed to such Actions, generally look upon it as a Point of Honour to stand by them, tho' they be in the wrong, much more when they are mature, deliberate, and well-weigh'd, and they us'd and accustom'd to them, as the *Aragonians* are, who have always approv'd themselves the loyallest Subjects in the World, when they have been permitted to live in that Condition they made Choice of, without Incroachment or Alteration; and I am satisfy'd, that tho' so much of their Blood has been profus'd, if they were restor'd to their former Condition, with what Satisfaction might be made, they would forget all their Sufferings and Wrongs. Now I return to the Commission I promise, which is as follows.

We Don John de la Nuza y Perellos, of his Majesty's Council, and Justice of Aragon, Don F. Augustin Navarro Abbot of our Lady de la Piedra, Don John de Luna Lord of Purroy, Jerome de Oro, Lewis Navarro, and John de Marcuello, Deputies for this Kingdom of Aragon, to you Don Martin de la Nuza, Health and Greeting. For as much as we have been apply'd to with a great Complaint, bearing, that Don Alon-
so

so de Vargas has enter'd this Kingdom with a great Army of Foreign Forces, and is marching towards the City of Zaragoza, to do harm to its Inhabitants, and others of this Kingdom, and therefore in pursuance of the 2d Privilege de generalibus privilegiis regni Aragonum, we have been requir'd to assemble, and cause to be assembled, such Number of Forces of the said Kingdom, as we should think necessary to expell the said Don Alonso de Vargas, and his Army and Foreigners out of the Kingdom; and being satisfy'd of what (according to the said Privilege) we ought to know, and having maturely deliberated and consider'd what we ought to do in Pursuance of the said Second Privilege de generalibus privilegiis, we readily comply'd, and offer'd to assemble the said Forces, and have call'd together many Troops of the Kingdom, in respect the Army the said Don Alonso de Vargas leads is so great. And there being need of many Officers and Commanders to rule and direct the said Forces; therefore we confiding in the Industry and Fidelity of you the said Don Martin de la Nuza, by these Presents, do appoint and constitute you Colonel of those Troops that come from the City Huesca, and from the Mountain of Jaca, and your own and the Cities Vassals, and from the Five Towns, and Barbastro, Monçon, and Foya de Huesca, that you may discipline and command and direct them what they are to do; giving you, as we actually do, the full Power which Colonels use to have in other Countries, commanding the said Forces to look upon, name, obey, and repute you as their Colonel, according to their Duty, under the Pains and Punishments us'd to be

inflicted in Italy, and other Parts, on Soldiers that are disobedient and mutinous against their Colonels. Given at Zaragoza on the 4th of November, 1591.

The Abbot of Piedra.

Lewis Navarro.

John Lewis de Marcuello.

The Ju-

stice of

Aragon.

Don John de Luna.

Jerome de Oro.

The Justices Seal.

The Seal of the Kingdom.

*By Orders of the Lords
Justices of Aragon, and
Deputies,*

*John de Mendibes,
Notary and Secretary.*

*By Order of the said Lords
the Justice of Aragon,
and Deputies,*

*James de Mildes,
Notary and Secretary.*

So that considering all that has been said on this Commission, and the Nature of it, there is no Reason to think much of the Judgment and Declaration made in the Court of the Justice of Aragon, That they ought to take Arms against the Castilian Army, nor of the Aragonians beginning to act pursuant to it. For the Privilege is as I have deliver'd it, and the Justice of Aragon and his Court are the true, lawful, and supreme Judges in that Case, and in all Cases where there is a Difference betwixt the King and the Subject in the Kingdom of Aragon. Nay more, and it is of Moment, and fit to be known, that the Preachers in Zaragoza, during those Days, and that Exigency, declar'd to all People, that they were oblig'd in Conscience

science to oppose the *Castilian* Army, and to defend their Liberties and Immunities, and they exhorted the People to it, as a vertuous and meritorious Action. And that this may not be thought a Compliance with the Multitude, then in an Uproar, the Confessors in private, when grave Matrons, and the Mothers of young Gentlemen, came to advise with them in Confession, whether they should permit their Sons, and other Inferiors, to take up Arms in that Quarrel, answer'd, They ought only to make a Scruple of hindering them, since a legal Judgment had been given in the Case, by those who had the supreme Authority in that Kingdom to judge and determine those Cases, by special Laws, several times sworn to by their King and his Predecessors.

In the next place, it will be convenient to give an Account of the formal Proceedings in the King's Name, and by *Don Alonso de Vargas*, upon his entring the Kingdom of *Aragon* with his Army, and soon after, tho' for a while it delay the Relation of what happen'd to *Antony Perez*; and this to the End, that the Effects of Justice, and those of Violence, may be the better compar'd, by lying the nearer together, and I will then return to *Antony Perez*.

Before *Don Alonso de Vargas* came to *Zaragoza*; yet after what happen'd on the 24th of *September*, the King writ several Letters of Thanks to the Deputies, to the Aldermen, to the Duke of *Villahermosa*, to the Earl of *Aranda*, and to other Lords and Gentlemen. *Don Alonso de*
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Vargas did the like to several others, telling them, *That his coming, was only in his way to France, and by the by, to punish two or three, and no more, and to support Justice, which was in some measure obstructed; that he did not design to touch upon their Liberties and Immunities, nor any other Thing that might be a Wrong to them, or to the Kingdom; that he had more of an Aragonian in him than all of them, and God keep him from any such Design.* After these Letters, full of sweet Words, and most to them that suffer'd most, he came with his Army. At his first coming, he began to secure many Persons, still continuing his deluding Expressions: He secur'd Priests, Religious Men, Lords, Gentlemen, the Duke of *Villahermosa*, the Earl of *Aranda*, and others, most of them the very Persons to whom the King had sent Letters of Thanks, and *Don Alonso* his Promise that they should come to no Harm. The Duke and Earl, besides others not known, were carry'd out of the Kingdom into *Castile*, contrary to a known Privilege, ever observ'd, and never allow'd to be transgress'd, even by the *Inquisition*, for they must be try'd within the Kingdom. This is plainly made out in the Case of a *Fleming*, Page to *Antony Perez*, taken by the Inquisitors of *Catalonia*, in *Barcelona*, as he was going over into *Italy*, because in *Castile* they thought they could rack something out of him against *Antony Perez*: They writ from *Castile* for the Youth, and the Inquisitors sent him away privately, for they durst not do it in publick, because

cause the Liberties of *Catalonia* are the same as those of *Aragon*. The City understanding it, mutiny'd, they sent several Messages and Expresses to the King, to have the Prisoner restor'd, thereatning if he were not, that they would secure the Inquisitors; and I know not whether they did not menace, they would turn the *Inquisition* out of *Catalonia*. For this Reason, they had him restor'd, after the poor Prisoner had been torn to Pieces, and nothing of Moment got out of him; however, they kept him 28th Months in a Dungeon. I return to the Imprisonments of Lawyers, Solicitors, of Aldermen of *Zaragoza*, of those who sacrific'd their Country to the King, and ask'd of him Forces against it, and themselves; such are the Effects of Affection and Division, and such is their Reward. The Imprisonment of the Mad-man, mention'd in the Relation of the 24th of *September*, that there may be some of all Sorts; nay, and I have heard, that he has been condemn'd to the Gallies for what happen'd that Day: So that we may say, as they do in *Spain*, Do you set your Wit against a Madman, that Courts of Justice try a Madman. There was imprisoning of Deputies of the Kingdom, some of them Clergymen, of that and the foregoing Year. I will not omit to insert the Death of one of them, who was a Canon of *Zaragoza*. He being taken up in that Confusion, and in his own Opinion, and in Reality, innocent, fell distracted, and dy'd, saying, *This is the Justice our Sovereign Lord the*
King

King Orders to be executed on the Canon, such a one, that he dies, and he dies. This said, he dy'd accordingly. There was imprisoning of Women, and of Lieutenants, such as *Micer Claveria*, and *Micer Espinosa*, who in *Aragon* were supreme Judges above the King, betwixt him and his Subjects; nay, more, they have compell'd both, or one of them, for I am not certain whether to abdicate; but I am sure they had discharg'd them upon Bail, and permitted them under those Circumstances to sit on the Bench again. What Judgment will they give? How will they dread the Lash, and the very Shadow of it? Nay, there is still more in it, for they restor'd to their Places *Micer Chales*, and *Micer Torralva*, whom the supreme Court of *Aragon*, of the Seventeen, who represent the whole Kingdom, had judg'd, condemn'd and declar'd for ever incapable of their Employment, for the Breach of Privileges one had been guilty of in the Case of *Antony Perez*, and the other, in others. These were the Cause of the Disturbances in that Kingdom, three Years before, and of the Calamities it now groans under. These Men were restor'd, a most pernicious Advice, besides the Wrong done to Justice, because it is an Affront to the Regal Authority, that their Proceedings should be thought to be meritorious with the Prince, since he restores and rewards those whom the legal Courts of that Kingdom condemn'd and degraded, and who cannot be restor'd neither by the King, nor Kingdom, nor even by the
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the *Cortes*, which comprehend them both, if one single Man, or the Party aggriev'd, oppos'd it. The like was never seen in that Kingdom, and ought not to be believ'd in respect to that King, but only because all we see now done in that Kingdom, is altogether new: But it is further to be observ'd, that whatsoever they shall act, will be void, and of no effect, as being done by illegal Judges, because they who are chosen Lieutenants, must be of the Number of those enroll'd and made capable by the *Cortes*; and if these should fail, and there should be a Want of Lieutenants, either by Death, or Deprivation, the Justice is to name three Persons, and the King to chuse among them.

I will now proceed to what ensu'd upon the coming of *Don Alonso de Vargas*. Lands and Towns were confiscated, Houses thrown down, and Castles raz'd, and these not only of the Persons imprison'd, contrary to the known Liberties, because in that Kingdom there can be no Forfeiture nor Confiscation of Estates, but of Ladies, of Mothers, and of Wives, who were the true Owners and Proprietors of those Estates; and tho' their Husbands and Sons could have forfeited their Estates for their Crimes, yet the Women could not, nor any Punishment reach their Fortunes any more than their Persons. Besides these, many of all Degrees, and both Sexes, were forced to fly, and among them a Lieutenant, for Fear of the Storm that rag'd: But above all, was the apprehending *Don John de la Nuzca*, the Justice of

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Aragon, who sign'd the Commission above-mention'd, and his Execution, by cutting off his Head, and proclaiming him a Traytor and a Stirrer up of the People and Kingdom against his King; this is the Matter of Fact. So that all this imprisoning of Deputies, Aldermen, Lieutenants, a Duke, an Earl, Lords, Gentlemen, Clergy, and many others, whom I do not name, to avoid running out, tho' it is all true, was only because they obey'd, or were willing to obey the legal Resolutions and Commands of their supreme Judges. The Counsellors and Lawyers suffer'd for giving their Opinions, that it was lawful, and they ought to take up Arms against the Foreign Army; the Deputies for doing their Duty in complying with the Remonstrances presented by the Kingdom; the Lieutenants for giving Judgment according to the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, having no Judges on Earth above them in this Case, but those I have mention'd; the Justice, because he put in Execution what was decreed by his Court, in which was the true, legal, and supreme Right of determining. But the Novelty of the Thing, and Truth require, an Account should be given of the Usage of the Justice; which, tho' lamentable to relate, was thus. The Justice was arrested by a private Captain under *Don Alonso de Vargas*, as he came out from the usual Meeting of his Court: Thence he was carry'd to *Don Alonso's* House, who said no more to him, but that he should go to the House of *Don John de Torrellas*, which, among

among others, was appointed a Prison for those they took up ; thither he was carry'd a Prisoner. By the Way he met some Jesuits, who waited for him, and went into the Coach to prepare him for Death ; a Thing never before heard of, that the condemn'd Person's Confessor should know of his being deem'd to dye, before himself. As soon as he came to the House, he was told he must die. The Justice in that Surprize, ask'd, *How so, and who was the Judge that pronounc'd such a Sentence?* They answer'd him, *The King himself.* He reply'd, *They should shew him the Sentence.* They shew'd him some Lines under the King's own Hand to Don Alonso, which were to this Effect. *As soon as you shall receive this, you shall seize Don John de la Nuza, Justice of Aragon. And let me have the News of his Death, as soon as of his Imprisonment. You shall cause his Head to be immediately cut off, and the Crier shall proclaim thus ;* * *Thus our Sovereign Lord the King commands this Gentleman to be executed, as a Traitor and Disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom, and for having set up a Standard against his King ; therefore he orders that his Head be cut off, and his Estate forfeited, and his Houses and Castles thrown down. Such Deeds deserve such Punishment.* The Paper was not sign'd by any Body else. The poor Gentleman said, *How could this be? For no Man could be his Judge, or condemn him, but the full Cortes, being the King and Kingdom.* And he spoke the Truth.

* When any Offender is punish'd in Spain, the Crier goes before, proclaiming his Offence, as is here express'd.

Truth. Tho' they saw him brought to Execution, no Man in the City knew the Meaning, till they heard the Proclamation, as above, and the Paper here mention'd, was read on the Scaffold. Nay, more, there was not the Space of twenty Hours betwixt his apprehending and Execution, nér any Tryal or Defence, more than what has been here said ; tho' according to the Laws of that Kingdom, none can judge him upon Earth, but the *Cortes*, being the King and Kingdom assembled in a Body ; and by the Law of God, no Man can be condemn'd without being try'd, and making his Defence. In short, we may say, that Justice it self was condemn'd and executed. That Kingdom was certainly, and still is, under the hardest Circumstances that ever Kingdom was, and Justice, and all its Methods, in the greatest Confusion and Oppression.

But to return to *Antony Perez*, he had been abroad, and since his Return, continu'd in *Zaragoza* till the 10th of *November* ; but perceiving at last, that all the Proposals of the Viceroy and the Inquisitor *Morejon* were deceitful, and only tended to keep him in hand till *Don Alonso de Vargas* came with his Army, and that he would make his Entry within two Days, which would bring him into the utmost Danger, by falling into the Hands of a regular Army, most of the principal Men, who ought to have defended their Country, slipping away : Hereupon *Don Martin de la Nuza*, and *Antony Perez*, consulted what Course to take in that Extremity.

Extremity. It was resolv'd, that *Antony Perez* should immediatly depart *Zaragoza*, and travel towards the Mountains. He did so, two Days before *Don Alonso de Vargas* came to the City with his Army. *Don Martin* bore him Company afoot through the City, and caus'd the Gates to be open'd, without his being known by the Guards. *Antony Perez* took the Road to *Sallen*, *Don Martin* stay'd in *Zaragoza* to be ready upon Occasion, for still the People respected and honour'd him. His Stay in *Zaragoza* was of great Consequence, for had he gone away and been miss'd, the same Day as *Antony Perez* did, he had not got off so well. He also stay'd to give Testimony of his Valour and Love for his Country to the last. The Day after *Antony Perez's* Departure, *Don Martin* went to all the Courts, and told them, That they well knew what had been decreed and resolv'd, what had since happen'd, and the Coming of *Don Alonso de Vargas*, with his Army. That he desir'd to know their Resolution, before he came to any, as to his own particular. That if it were to defend themselves, and to oppose the Castilian Army's Entering that City. He would expose his Person for the Defence of his Country, of the Laws and Justice, in Pursuance of the Judgment pronounc'd. But if this was not to be done, he would retire to his own House, where he would continue, if he might be allow'd so to do, by the Cruelties and Wrong which then threatned. He further desir'd, that, if it came to the worst, they would open the Gates to such as desir'd

to withdraw themselves, and be gone. This second Part of *Don Martin's* Proposal was allow'd of, for to say the Truth, they were too weak to resist. This done, he went away directly from thence with two Friends on Horseback, and publickly taking his Leave, as he went along the Streets, of the People, who bore him Company through the City, and follow'd him much further with their good Wishes, full of Grief and Tears, to see him depart, and themselves left without him; for true Love is lasting and stable. By the way he gave them an Account of what he had been doing at the Courts, telling them, *That if he could have been of any use towards saving every one of them, he would have stay'd and dy'd with them; but that all things were in such a miserable Condition, that it would only be bringing himself to a shameful End. That no Man ought to advise him so do do, nor would he give such Advice to any Man, but that every Man should secure himself, and not stay to be try'd by Passion.* He spoke not amiss, for *Alcibiades* said, that even a Mother's Passion was dangerous. He added, *That since those who had the Charge of their Country, their common Mother, and whom she had entrusted to defend her and her Children, had given so bad an Account of their Trust, what was there now more to be expected, but to put themselves upon their Sincerity, and upon their Prince, when appear'd and better inform'd, like him that appear'd from Cæsar asleep to Cæsar awake, or upon the Justice of Heaven, which is the supreme Court, and to live on to see the Event?*

Thus

Thus *Don Martin* left the City, making towards the Mountain, the Way *Antony Perez* had gone, following him and securing his Retreat. *Antony Perez*, with *Giles de Mesa*, and a Friend spent some Days among the Rocks and Mountains, in the Caves, living upon Bread and Water, and enduring the cold Nights at that time of the Year. He delay'd Time to see whether Truth and Justice gather'd any Strength, and whether in pleas'd God to open the Eyes of the Understanding of him that could set all things right; like a faithful Dog, who tho' beaten and abus'd by his Master and his Family, yet will not leave his House. At length he came to *Sallen*, the last Town of *Aragon*, on that Side. *Don Martin* came two Days after, and entertain'd him in a strong Castle of his of great Antiquity, belonging to his ancient Ancestors. There new Overtures were made, more barefac'd than the former, in Letters from the Dean of *Zaragoza* to *Don Martin de la Nuza*. The Substance of them was, That *Antony Perez* should be Try'd by a Judge to his own liking. Perhaps they had some Account of what I have said of the others; or of what I have forbore to say, which is always more than what I have declar'd; or else they thought to catch him again, as they had at other times. The Dean added, That his Wife and Children should be kept more at large, and have a decent Allowance. A Practice altogether new and unnatural, to make Children and innocent Persons the Means of such a Proposal. Wretched Age and wretched Subjects. Whilst these

things were in Agitation, *Don Martin* began to be more afraid, lest *Antony Perez* should be taken, and being jealous, that two Men could not be conceal'd with as much Privacy as was requisite, it was resolv'd that *Antony Perez* and *Giles de Mesa* should part, for they had kept together ever since the 24th of September; and that one of them should go over into France. *Don Martin* was of opinion it should be *Giles de Mesa*, which *Antony Perez* readily agreed to, that he might still add so many Hours to the Proofs he was giving of his Unwillingness to depart. *Giles de Mesa* accordingly went away into France. *Antony Perez* perceiving what was like to ensue, by way of prevention, gave him a Letter for *Madam Catherine*, Sister to the King of France, with Orders to sound that Princess, whether she would take him into her Protection. Here follows a Copy of the Letter.

Most serene Madam,

ANtony Perez lays himself at your Highness's Feet, by the Interposition of this Paper and the Bearer. Madam, since it is likely, there is no Corner or hidden part of the Earth, which the great Noise of my Persecutions and Adventures has not reach'd, there is more Reason to believe that those who are in such lofty place as your Highness, must be better inform'd of them. They have been of such long Continuance, and still so great, that they have at last oblig'd me, for my own Defence

fence and Preservation, to seek some safe Harbour, where I may secure my self and get out of this tempestuous Sea, which has been kept raging for so many Years by the Malice of Ministers, as is well known to all the World. This shows, Madam, that I have been try'd like Metal under the Hammer, and undergone all other Tryals. I beseech your Highness to grant me your Protection and safe Conduct, for the Attaining of this End; or if such be your Will, your Favour and Assistance, that I may pass forward to some other Prince, who shall grant me this Request. In so doing your Highness will perform an Action worthy your Grandeur; for Princes are to follow the Example of the Elements, among which, that the World may subsist, what one expels and persecutes, another entertains and nourishes. And as it is usual to present Princes with strange Creatures and Monsters in Nature, so here your Highness is presented with a monstrous Production of Fortune, which are always more to be admir'd than the others, as being the Effects of more violent Causes. And this I here present may be admir'd, not only for that Reason, but to see against how inconsiderable a thing Fortune has rag'd and vented its Malice for so long a time, and for how insignificant a Person there has been such a mighty Renewing of the ancient Struggle betwixt Nature and Fortune, and betwixt the natural Rancour of the latter and the Kindness of the other, and of all People in general. Sallen, November the 18th 1591.

No sooner was this done, but there came sudden News, That the Lords of Concas and

la Finilla were coming to *Sallen* with 300 Men, in quest of *Antony Perez*. *Don Martin* hearing of it, and *Antony Perez* perceiving himself now as it were betwixt the Bulls Horns, and Danger pressing so hard upon him, they both resolv'd he should take the last Trip, and get into Safety. Yet even then they proceeded with the utmost Leisure, for he went not away ten Hours before the Lords of *Conca* and *la Pinilla* came with their Men. This is Matter of Fact, for *Don Martin* receiv'd Advice on the 23th of September at ten a Clock at Night, that the said Persons were marching with their Men, and would be there the next Morning, as they were, and that very Night at ten a Clock and no sooner they resolv'd, he should set out and get into France. He set out accordingly with only two Footmen. In short, he past the *Rubicon*, I mean the Pyrenean Mountains on the 24th of November at Night. The 24th, which seems a fatal Day in his Adventures. Perhaps this Number denotes, that God has not decreed, nor *Antony Perez* executed his Decrees, till the utmost Extremity and the last Hours of his Dangers and Persecutions. I mean the last Hour of those 24 which make the Day. And it also shews, that upon Tryal his Metal proves to be 24 Carats fine. *Antony Perez* got into France on the 24th at Midnight. The Snow on the Pyrenean Mountains afforded him a favourable Reception, and more grateful than could be expected at that Time of the Year. He travell'd with so much Pain, being
a ten-

a tender Man, and much worn with Sufferings both of Body and Mind, that they were forc'd in many Places which were frozen, to carry him in their Arms, and in others to lay their Cloaks on the Ice for him to tread on them. Before he set out from *Sallen*, *Don Martin de la Nuza* and *Antony Perez* had agreed, if they had permitted him to travel leisurely, to go away to *S. Savin*, a Monastery, or Collegiate Church of *Benedictine* Monks, and to give further Proofs of his Loyalty from that Place. But understanding how furiously he was pursu'd to *Sallen*, he alter'd his Resolution, and went away directly to *Madam*, having had sufficient Experience of the Faith of Ministers, and being satisfy'd, there was more Security in that of a Sovereign Prince, as those who have greater Obligations to keep it sacred. He got to *Pau* on the 26th of *November*. At his Entrance into the Town he was strictly examin'd, because he was disguis'd under the Habit and Name of one of the Footmen that went with him. He was carry'd to the Captain of the Guard, who ask'd him, who he was, whence he came, and what was his Business. He answer'd, That he was a *Spaniard*, and came out of *Spain* to look for a Gentleman, giving a particular Description of him. Some time after, when many Messages had gone backwards and forwards to greater Officers, he met with *Giles de Mesa*. The Answer *Madam* had given him was, That *Antony Perez* might come and welcome, and should have Protection either to stay, or to go

forward, to treat about his Affairs, and to exercise his Religion. And all this in blank for him to be upon his own Terms. Nay, *Madam* had order'd a party of Horse to receive him. The Reception he had, and the Favour that Princess show'd him, even in that rude Habit, and all the while he continu'd near her, was such as became a Royal Lady and a generous Mind; for all Princes are not Fortunes Slaves. I call those Slaves, who only value those outward Appearances they are Lords of. Such is the Nature of Human Power, proceeding perhaps from Envy of the Works of Nature, and the Worth they see in another, because their Power cannot reach it, nor add or take from it. Whilst *Antony Perez* was at *Pau*, *Don Martin de la Nuza* came thither to see him. He gave him an Account, Of what had happned after he left *Sallen*, of the coming of the Lords of *Concas* and *la Pinilla* in quest of him with 300 Men. That he had withdrawn himself to the Borders of France, tho he could have oppos'd them, if he would, but that he was not willing, to put the Country into Confusion. That he sent to acquaint *Concas*, and *la Pinilla*, that he was there with six Footmen and a Friend, and if they would go give him a Meeting with a Dozen, and at a place of Safety, he would expect them. That they agreed and appointed a Rock near the Borders, where they met, and the Purpose of their Discourse was, The Concern they were under for having miss'd the Game so many Sportsmen had so long pursu'd. That

That they ask'd where he was, and were answer'd, That the Cruelties executed on him, had oblig'd Antony Perez to get away into France, but he knew not where he was. He earnestly entreated him to go seek him. He ask'd, Whether they desir'd in the Name of any greater Persons than themselves. They answer'd, They did in the Name of the King, of the Viceroy, of Don Alonso de Vargas, of the Inquisitors. He bid the Standers by bear Witness, That they desir'd it in the Name of the King, and of the aforesaid Persons. This was the Reason of Don Martin's going to see Antony Perez. The Message and Proposal brought was, That if Antony Perez had any convenient Accommodation and Settlement to offer for his Affairs, he might consider of it, and propose what he thought fit. He answer'd, That he would willingly listen to an Accommodation; that they might propose, and he would answer accordingly. Perhaps they concluded that Antony Perez would not rely on them more when out of Danger, than he did in the midst of it. At last despairing of succeeding this way, they took to another of a quite different Nature, which sufficiently proves, that he was not mistaken in not trusting them; it shews the Design they had to destroy him, and what Justice he had Reason to expect. The Method they took, was to contrive and project to take away his Life. I will give an Account of some of these Practices which have been discover'd, and punish'd in several Kingdoms; for wheresoever he goes, they still follow him, which is so notorious,

torious, that he has been publicly expos'd to Sale, as has appear'd upon Tryals.

Whilst *Antony Perez* was in *Berne*, under the Protection of *Madam*, Sister to the most Christian King, they began this Proceeding, lavishing much Money, Horses, Perfumes, Gloves, and many other Gratuities, of such Rarities as *Spain* affords. I know the Names of the Managers, the Contrivers, and the Undertakers, and the Sums of Money that were promis'd. I will not name them, but only one of their Brokers in this way of Trade, call'd *Bustamante*, a Dealer in Gloves and Perfumes, and as such, often going backwards and forwards, in and out of that Province. This Man's Kindred, with great Concern, said he became a Trader in human Blood. Besides, I know the Cant of the Letters then writ, which was buying of Combs, and that the Money was at *Sallen*, and the Person that was to receive the Goods: This was a Gentleman who left a strong Garrison on the Frontiers he was entrusted with, to follow this Prize. Besides this, there were other Practices with some Persons of Quality, and they had an Interview on the Frontiers of *Jaca*, and more Money and Horses were given, as it were in Earnest of the Sale; nay, I could tell the Colour of the Horses, and had the Note for the greater Sum promis'd, in my Hands. I will name no Body now, let them understand me that can, and every Man take as much as belongs to him. Nor was this all, for they engag'd one in this Affair, who was fled

fled to *Pau* for Coining, and hop'd that this would turn to a better Account; but it throve no better than his false Money. This Man began to sound some Persons to this Purpose, in the Catholick King's Name, and among them was *John Francis Mayorini*, a *Genoese*, above mention'd. He offer'd him, in the King's Name, a Pardon, Rewards and Revenues, if he would do by *Antony Perez* what the King desir'd; for this was his Way of expressing himself. He endeavour'd to convince him by Arguments, that it was no treacherous Act to execute the King's Will. *John Francis* discover'd it eight or ten Days after he was tempted. The Reason he gave for deferring it so long was, that he had a Mind to discover more, and see further into the Matter, by the Manner of the Proposals. He sent a Note to *Antony Perez*, to acquaint him, that he had something of Moment to communicate to him, the Familiarity betwixt them being broke off for some Reasons. They met before *Don Martin de la Nuxa*, and discover'd what has been said: They told him, it was not enough for him to listen to such an Affair; he took their Meaning, and discoursing another time with the *Navarrois* on the same Subject, he gave him a Cuff on the Ear: They were both arrested; *John Francis* for striking in the Corps de Garde, and the *Navarrois* for the Crime. Being try'd and examin'd, and the whole Matter prov'd, *Madam*, out of her usual Clemency, moderated the Punishment due for attempting against her Authority,

thority, in breaking her Protection, and only order'd that the *Navarrois* should be banish'd the Country of *Berne*, as was also *John Francis* for the Cuff on the Ear : Nor was this all, for the same *Navarrois* try'd to put a Madman upon doing Mischief to *Antony Perez*. This is Matter of Fact ; but the Madman was wiser, for we have seen them take up Arms in Defence of Right. At *Bourdeaux*, one *Gaspar Burces*, of the Number of those who fled for the Troubles in *Aragon*, was taken up, because he had undertaken to kill *Antony Perez*. The Poison was found upon him, and with it a Letter from a Viceroy in *Spain*, in which are these Words, *That he sent his Letter, and the Messenger was detain'd, expecting an Answer*. Then he hastens him to do the Work, *Because the Master thinks so convenient*. Whom he means, I know not ; he adds, *Be expeditious, for if the Opportunity is lost, it cannot be recover'd*. He offers him a Pardon, and a good Pair of Gloves, and says, he does not send the Perfum'd ones, because he would not stay the Messenger. I could here insert a Copy of the Letter, from the Original, which I had at *Burdeaux*, upon the Tryal ; but I forbear, in respect to the Writer of it, who is a Man of great Quality, and whose Ancestors gain'd the great Name he has by other sort of Actions ; but he did what he was commanded, and it seems the Man offer'd himself to do the Work, and he was oblig'd to acquaint his Superior. The Prisoner own'd the Practice, was condemn'd to Death, and repriev'd for some Days.

Days. At this time it happen'd that *Madam*, the most Christian King's Sister, came to *Burdeaux*, in her way to *France*, and *Antony Perez* with her. Some Persons came to him from that Man to beg his Pardon, as being the Party offended : He granted it, and begg'd his Life of the *Mareschal de Matignon*, who consented, and they contriv'd it thus. One Day when the City treated *Madam* in the Town-House, as she came away, they presented to her the condemn'd Person, who kneeling, begg'd his Life. As soon as she heard him, she turn'd towards *Antony Perez*, and said to the Man, *Antony Perez has not deserv'd this at your Hands, for his interceding with me several times in your Behalf at Pau, and now you see how much depends on him.* Then she said to *Antony Perez*, *That he was first to consider what he would have done :* He answer'd, *That he beseech'd her Highness and the Mareschal, who stood by her Side, to grant him that Life ; That such Actions were their own Reward or Punishment, according to the Person concern'd in them.* Thus was he discharg'd, and sent away into Banishment, with some Charity the Mareschal order'd him. Before I proceed, I cannot forbear giving an Account of a comical Practice, tho' I had no Mind to mention it, as may appear by my omitting of it in its proper Place, in respect to the Sex, and the Quality of the Person concern'd ; but it shall be made known, to shew that anger'd Power, or Flattery, have left nothing unattempted. When *Antony Perez* was at *Pau*, this Affair was carry'd so far,

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as to tempt a Lady of that Country, who was beautiful, gay, sprightly, much a Lady, an Amazon at hunting and riding, as if they had design'd to kill a *Sampson*. In short, they offer'd her 10000 Crowns and 6 *Spanish* Horses, if she would go to *Pau*, and get acquainted with *Antony Perez*; and having allur'd him with her Beauty, would invite and draw him to her House, and there deliver him up some Night, or permit them to carry him off as he was hunting. The Lady, either yielding to Importunity, or out of Curiosity (which is so natural to that Sex) to know a Man on whom Power and Persecution set so great a Price; or else designing to give the persecuted Person Notice of the Design, pretended, as appear'd by the Sequel, to approve of the Proposal. Accordingly, she went to *Pau*, got acquainted with *Antony Perez*, and visited him at his Lodging: Messengers and Billets Doux went backwards and forwards incessantly, and some Presents. At length her own good Nature, and the Liking she took to *Antony Perez*, prevail'd above Interest, which is a base Metal; and more defiling than any Act of Love; for she herself at length discover'd to him the whole Practice, the Offers made her, and all the Affair: Besides, she offer'd him her House, and all the Entertainment it afforded, with so much Kindness, if Love may be discern'd by outward Appearances, that there is no Astrologer but would have sworn that Lady and *Antony Perez* were born under the same Ascendant.

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To return to the other Practices, besides those already mention'd. Two *Irish* Men were punish'd in *England*, being taken with the Count *de Fuentes*, his Orders and Instructions to that purpose. Being both taken and examin'd, one of them confess'd, that by the Name of *Antony Perez* was meant the Queen: The other deny'd it, and affirm'd, that the Instructions were to be understood in the literal Sense, and were design'd against *Antony Perez* himself. They were both executed; I was then in *London*, and happen'd to be going towards *St. Paul's*, at the Time their Heads was setting upon the Gate. It is worth observing, that this Contrivance was either against *Antony Perez*, who was nam'd in those Papers, or against the Queen, or both; and sure there is something extraordinary in him, since they confound him with Sovereigns. I will now deliver another Practice still stranger than any of those I have told; It was thus. *Don John Idiaques* attempted a certain Person, proposing to him, To go where *Antony Perez* was, and carry a Letter to him from the *Catholick King*, containing a Promise, that he should be restor'd to his Estate, Honours, Wife and Children, and many other Favours; if he would give Intelligence from time to time of that Prince's Proceedings where he resided; and when he had got *Antony Perez's* Answer, if it were consenting to the Proposal, to deliver it to the Prince, or to some of his Council, to ruin his Reputation. The Man answer'd more wisely; Sir, if *Antony Perez* is as much in that Prince's

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Favour and Esteem, as you fancy, perhaps, he will not easily believe him treacherous; and, if he is not a Fool, he may first acquaint that Prince with his Answer, before he delivers it to me, and then I may be taken and examin'd, and it may cost me my Life. Upon this, Don John de Tdiaquez propos'd another Method, which was, That he should at least bring another sort of a Letter, being as it were an Answer to Antony Perez his Letters, and containing the Catholick King's Thanks, for the Intelligence he sent him from time to time, of the Affairs of that Kingdom, and that he should deliver his Letters to the said Prince, or his Counsellors. The Man reply'd to the same effect as before, That it would be a very dangerous Undertaking for him, because it was to be fear'd, that the Prince would not believe it, having no other Circumstances to enforce it, and then he might be put upon the Rack, which would be very dangerous for himself, and much for the Reputation of Antony Perez, when it appear'd they were so much concern'd for him, as to make use of such base Practices against him. Having heard the Man's Answers, Don John went back to the King: They consulted together about it, and then he return'd to the Man, and said, That the King approv'd of his Reflections, and knew Antony Perez so well, that he was satisfy'd he would discover the Artifice, and therefore the best Way was to take another Method, which was the ultimate Resolution. I say the ultimate, because it is the End of all: It is, that Antony Perez dye, said Don John, and that he should find somebody to kill him, and this piece of Service should

should be worth to him 20000 Ducats. This is no Jest, for the Man was sent upon the Errand, I had it from one who is very intimate with the Contrivers of these glorious Actions. The Practice of *Roderick Mar*, Lord of *la Pinilla*, is worth knowing, because his Execution has been so much talk'd of. He came into *France* for this Purpose, and brought for his Assistants a Servant, and a Friar without his Habit, his Name was *F. Mathew de Aguirre*, a *Biscainer*, it is likely, some *Biscainer* Minister made Choice of him. This Man attempted the Life of *Antony Perez* in *Paris*. He had Horses ready without the City, and a Wallet with Bread and Wine, to make his Escape over the Walls in the Night. He try'd three several times in one Night, to come to speak to *Antony Perez*, not owning who he was, but as another Person. He could not get in, for *Antony Perez* had two *Swissers* to guard him, by Order of Council. He was arrested, and they found about him a pair of Pistols, each charg'd with a Brace of Bullets, with Wax thrust into them. He confess'd the Design, and that the Wax was put to the Bullets, because it made the Wound mortal, tho otherwise inconsiderable. He own'd what was promis'd him, what he had receiv'd, and from whom, which was *Don John Baptist Tdiaquez*, as he nam'd him. The Servant and he were executed. The 3^d Person being the Friar, already mention'd, made his Escape. So that *Pinilla* was sent to dye, and not to kill, and to receive that Justice in *France*, which was not executed on him in *Spain*.

To conclude with these scandalous Practices, so dishonourable to Princes, who ought to exert their Power in Actions of another Nature, I will here desire Leave, to relate the last Effort of Malice against a persecuted Man. The Count de Barajas, of whom some Particulars have been already deliver'd in this Book, a few Days before Antony Perez was brought back to Madrid the first time, began to practise upon Donna Joanna Coello, Wife to Antony Perez, with great Show of Cautiousness, looking about on all sides, shutting the Doors, and drawing his Chair near to her, and then said: *Madam, you must needs be acquainted with the King's Temper, since you are a Rib of your Husband. Without doubt he is highly displeas'd. There is much Danger, that your Husband may come to a shameful End, which will leave a Stain upon his Honour, and forfeit all he has from his Children.* When the Earl came to this Point, he cautiously drew back, as if he would not proceed, not that he was unwilling to go through with it, but to seem by his Timorousness to express the Zeal that mov'd him to give such Advice, then he went on saying, *Madam, consider whether it were not convenient for the Saving of your Honour and Estate, that you should, here he made another Stop, in order to be the plainer, I say, that you should use some Means, to deliver yourself out of that miserable Condition.* At length the wretched Lady saying, *My Lord, explain your self.* He answer'd, *Ma-*

* Meaning of
Poison.

*dam that you give Mr. Antony Perez
a * Morfel with your own Hands,
and*

and that would put an End to all these Calamities. Be not amaz'd at such a monstrous Proposal, for she hearing what he say'd, reply'd. *How so my Lord? That must be well consider'd. What will become of me? For then they will fall upon my Servants, and upon me too, and they will open the Body.* He rejoyn'd, *Madam, you may bury him privately, as a Prisoner.* She in much Disorder, and pretending it more, to prevent and ward off that Mischief, added again: *My Lord, it is to be seriously weigh'd and consider'd, but above all, who shall prepare the Poison. Who can I make use of to that Purpose* The Earl again, *Madam, I will undertake to provide the Poison.* He had so far laid and contriv'd the whole Business, that he nam'd to her the Person he would employ, saying, *I now expect a Brother of my Secretary Paredes, who is chief Alcalde of the Lieutenantancy of Campo, to come to me, I will employ him to get the Poison prepar'd.* Donna Joanna, seeing all barefac'd, and guessing this must be done of Necessity, as others have been publickly poison'd by Physicians, said, *My Lord, I am much oblig'd to your Lordship, I will consider on it, and come another time with my Resolution and Answer to such a Favour; for in the midst of this Confusion I begin to be sensible, that there is a Necessity of applying some Remedy, and how proper that your Lordship offers is.* Tho' she might have done it, as having private Leave from the Earl, yet she durst not go to Torrejon de Velasco, where Antony Perez then was, lest the Count should suspect that she advis'd with him about that Affair.

But that Night she sent a Friend to her Husband with an Account of it. They agreed, she should the next Day return to the Earl, and seem resolv'd to take his Advice; as she did, and by their Direction said to him, *My Lord, I have taken your Advice into Consideration. The Love I have for that Bag of Bones, for he is now no better, streightens me on the one Side, and my Children, my Honour, and my Estate on the other. Now I looking upon the Father as dead already, the Love of that which is more durable, prevails above that which is just expiring. Therefore, nothing is so difficult, but I can perform it to comply with this Love. But considering that he is a cautious Man, that weighs things, and has a deep Insight into them, and must think it strange, that I should be much with him by Virtue of a private Leave; and besides in Regard that this is not to be done at one Stroke, nor would it be Discretion or safe to poison him all at once, which will presently appear outwards, therefore it would be safer, to do it by Degrees To this Effect, my Lord; and for the better Executing what you advise, I am of Opinion, it would be convenient to hasten his coming to Court, that living constantly with me, he may have no Jealousy, and so this Contrivance may be manag'd by Degrees; for the Dread of the Prince's Anger has overcome my Frailty. Set us about it, my Lord. The Earl answer'd, Well Madam, I hourly expect Paredes his Brother, I have told you of, it shall be gone about immediately, for I have already writ to him to prepare*

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the Poison, and he is doing it. Here the Business stop'd, afterwards *Donna Joanna* sending to the Earl to enquire whether that Person was come, that she might appear solicitous, and she herself putting him in Mind of it, at another Visit, it seems she found him more backward than before. The Reason of it is not known. Perhaps because he believ'd that she being inclin'd to it, would contrive the whole Business herself, or perhaps growing fearful of the Proposal and Undertaking, as *Sejanus* did of that of *Drusus*. However, the Effect of the Contrivance soon follow'd, which was the bringing of *Antony Perez* to Court. The Design of the Wife's giving this Answer was, that since the Execution was to be perform'd by Poison, she should hold the Earl in Hand, saying she had begun to give it him, and it was working its Effect, that all would be well, and then some Night or other to tell him, *My Lord, the Business is done, and that nothing may be alledg'd against me, I have bury'd him privately, as you advis'd.* The Intent was to carry him out in a Shroud, as it were to lay him in a Vault among the Dead, and to convey him away from thence.

Now let those that think fit, bless themselves, if they are not quite besides themselves at such a Practice; and let them consider, whether ever well read Man met with such a Contrivance, or even those that converse with the Devil, for I believe, this Piece of Malice has outdone him; like the Story they tell of a cer-

tain wicked Spirit, who not being able to overcome a Maid, apply'd himself to a cunning old Bawd, and paid her the Reward agreed on, because she compass'd what he could not perform. Some Reflections were made upon this Affair, *Antony Perez* consider'd, whether that Count's Design might not be to oblige and win that Lady, either by sparing her Honour and Estate, or by marrying her, for he was then a Widower, the better to secure his Post and Favour with the King, by the Means of that Man's Secrets, which he believ'd were very great, and therefore he was very jealous of *Antony Perez*, and the more because he saw him use his Favour with so much Moderation. This Moderation was rather the Effect of Fear than Ambition, for some Favourites, rather conceal their Favour out of Ambition than Moderation. *Antony Perez's* Conceit was not groundless, for he has known Favourites of Princes, who think to secure the said Princes by Trusts and Secrets; but these must be some of those who have no natural Worth to cause them to be valu'd, and Men of a short Reach, if they think this can make any Man secure that is near them; for all Favour grounded on voluntary Trust, and much more on those that are extorted, is rather dangerous than lasting. This proceeds from the Nature of Man, which is more prevalent in Princes, there being no Man but what hates to be kept under by such Means. I am so positive in this Opinion, that I believe the Reason, why Princes rather chuse to raise Men

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meerly for Fancy, than for Worth, or Services, is because they think the first exerts their Power, a natural Ambition, and the latter proves them to be Debtors. This is an odious Condition to the best Dispositions. This Case was, under great Secrecy, as was then requisite, communicated to a * Person of great Quality, who believ'd, the Earl had another strange Design in this Attempt, * *The Cardinal of Toledo* which was, that if he prevail'd upon *Donna Joanna* to put it in Execution, then he, as Chief Justice, denying that he had given any such Advice, might cause the Body to be taken up, and finding the Tokens on it of Poison, might rack the Servants and the Wife too, and thus ruin all *Antony Perez's* Family. And it is likely the principal End of all was, to make the World believe that the Wife knew her Husband to be guilty of such treasonable Practices, as oblig'd her to anticipate his Death, as was practis'd under the first Roman Emperors, to save the Honour of the Children and the Estate for them. This cruel Attempt neither can nor ought to be then at least attributed to that King, because it is well known, he still had some Inclination to restore *Antony Perez* to his Service; but in reality the Contrivance must be ascrib'd to the Count *de Barajas* himself, because there was an ancient Enmity betwixt his and *Donna Joanna's* Predecessors, besides the strict League betwixt the said Earl and *Matthew Vazquez*, against the Marques *de los Velez* and *Antony Perez* who stuck together.

The Ground of the Enmity was that *Donna Joanna's* Predecessors, both by Father and Mother, were so Loyal to their King, the Emperor *Charles the 5th*, that when the Rebellion of the Commons happen'd, those Mutiniers and their Ring-leaders, but particularly *John Zapata* the one-ey'd, for so he was call'd, who depos'd the King's Corregidor of *Madrid*, being Brother or Uncle to the present Earl of *Barajas*, *Don Francisco de Zapata's* Predecessors, caus'd their Houses to be thrown down and sow'd with Salt. There were Eye-witnesses of it, and those of Quality, living within these ten Years. The Persecution against them was so sharp, that, as is related in the Memorial *Antony Perez* presented in *Aragon*, they were forc'd to carry away their Sons and Daughters, all of them Children, in Litters to *Bargos*, to save them, lest they should be serv'd as the Houses had been. No wonder he should speak so plain, since he said little less concerning it to the Judges in *Aragon*, when in Prison. And therefore he begs Pardon for Repeating in this Place what was said there, for as much as it is better explain'd here, and the Names set down which were there conceal'd, which could not be here avoided, upon giving an Account of such an Attempt. Nay, it is absolutely necessary, for tho' this looks more like an Accusation than a Defence, even that is allow'd when all other Means fail. This is plain, for it is an allow'd Case, that a Son may kill his Father, if he has no other Way left to avoid, being kill'd by him. Therefore it cannot give
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any Scandal, or be thought an unjust Proceeding in *Antony Perez*, to relate this and such like Proceedings, which are a part of his Defence and Vindication against the Wrongs done him, by discovering such Attempts upon his Person and Life, and the Cause of the Hatred of those who advis'd them, and by showing the Malice they bore him. Let no Man look upon these Relations as a Recrimination, but as meer Defence, and so moderate that they would themselves own it, did they know how many much more mortal Stabs he forbears to give their Honour. Besides there is still more to be said for them, which is, that he only touches upon them by way of Precaution, and to warn them to take Heed how they provoke him to proceed further; like a Fencing-master, who with a slight Touch of the Foile, shows what a Wound he could give. There is much more Reason to admire how it can consist with natural Conveniency not to mention Policy, which is no other than every Mans Conveniency in his Post, to persecute a Man who has been so intimate with his King, and so much entrusted by him. Nay the more he appears to have been in such Trust, the greater the Indiscretion in persecuting him so barefac'd, when he is absent and out of the Reach of their Passion. I will not speak of every Man's inward Affections, or Wishes, nor of the Effects of Intimacy betwixt Men and Men, and betwixt Kings and Subjects, for those take their Relish, as it were from a Mineral, from every Man's natural Disposition they pass

pass through, and therefore in some they produce Love and an Acknowledgment of Obligation, which are its natural Effects; and in others Hatred, and a Desire of Revenge as for a Wrong done, which are its monstrous Effects. Now as others take Care, to carry some hidden Jewels to serve them upon Occasion in their Travels and Adventures, if the said Confident should happen to take away with him some Testimonials and Trusts of the highest Moment, as the safest Treasure he can lay up in his Flight from Persecution, and he should happen to dye in his Banishment, those Testimonials might fall into the Hands of foreign Nations, and in all Likelyhood, they would be safer in the Hands of a Subject, who may easily be maintain'd in his Loyalty, especially when that has been so well try'd, as in the Man I speak of. Besides, should it please God, as Experience has shown, to preserve the Life of a persecuted Person, it cannot be avoided, but that being so unjustly treated, and tormented, he must at last, for his own Justification, expose all he has to the Eyes of the World, tho he should long forbear coming to that Extremity.

Not only the Persecution itself, but the Manner of it is very wonderful, for, not to mention the Sin against God, and the many Lives it costs, it is strange, they do not observe how much it lessens the Prince, and that they add Weight and Value to him they endeavour to annihilate, because the more they pursue, the more remarkable they make him; and the persecuted Person might well say to his Prince, *What is*

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Man that thou shouldest magnify him. For this Reason the persecuted Person I speak of, for this Name becomes him, has just Cause to say, *That the great Persecution rais'd against him, makes all People the more earnest to know him, and that it is not convenient for his King, nor him, that he be known.* For him, because when known he will lose the Value put upon him by Persecution; for the King, because then it will appear against how inconsiderable a Worm so great a King has so long been intrag'd. Those who have given this Advice, must of necessity grant, either that the Man has some Value in him; or that it consists in those Secrets he keeps in his Breast for his Justification; since, having fail'd of Destroying him by so many Tryals, they endeavour to drown all the Wrongs done him in his Death, and in it to confound those done to the Kingdom, and the Affront done to the Prince and to Justice itself; for they all suffer, and are much injur'd. Let not this be look'd upon as an Hyperbole, which upon weighing this whole Relation will appear to be a palpable Truth. And to begin with *Antony Perez*, as the principal Object of all this Indignation, I cannot tell why he suffers, or why his Name is enroll'd in the Lists of Persons excepted from Pardon, which are spread about the World. It cannot be on Account of the Reconciliation, pretended to be Cause for his first Imprisonment and the Princess of *Eboli's*. It cannot be for any Crimes committed in his Employment; for he was try'd, and commanded not
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to clear himself, and he obey'd, and was dumb before his Sheerers. Nor can it be for the Death of *Escovedo*, for besides that it was not legally prov'd, nor were there two Witnesses that agreed in any Particular, as was remarkable in that Proceeding, he compounded dearly with the Party, as has been related, with his King's Consent, by the Advice of his Confessor, and to prevent greater Inconveniencies. Besides that such a Murder is no Crime of Disloyalty to his Prince, but so far from it, that it was done by his Command. Neither can it be for the same things laid to his Charge in *Aragon*; because he clear'd himself so fully, that they would not stand before him, nor for having clear'd himself at that Tryal, because Self-Defence which is so natural, can be no Crime, especially when he did not make it till after he had given such Proofs of his Fidelity to his King, had endur'd so much, and had put it off till the utmost Necessity. And as in solemn Duels within Lists no Advantage is taken of Words, nor any Punishment for the Wounds made with the Weapons of the Combat, so no Defence can be interpreted a Crime, especially when all the Evidence was made known to the Party before, as they show their Weapons in the Field. It cannot be on the Account of the Separation, because besides it's being the Act of a Party, and presented as such in the Court where the King was Plaintiff, the Plaintiff cannot make such a Declaration against the Defendant. Nor is any Crime nam'd in it, but
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only that he has differ'd him. Besides all this, there is none on Earth that has a temporal Power to accuse, to judge, and to condemn any Man upon Sight, without any Tryal, or Defence. Nor can it be on Account of the Inquest, since it was declar'd in due Course of Law, that the King could take no Advantage of him that Way, by the solemn Condemnation of the Judge who deliver'd him over to that Court, by the safe Conduct the new Judge gave him, by particular Privileges, and by his having been before try'd in *Castile*; for God does not judge twice for the same Fact. Nor can it be for what hapned in *Aragon*, two or three Years before he fled into that Kingdom and to its Laws; nor for what was done on the 24th of *May*, or on the 24th of *September*; nor for what that Kingdom has done in Defence of its Laws and Justice, for those are no Actions of his, nor had he any Hand in them, tho' they were for his Advantage. Neither is it because the People took him out of Prison, and gave him his Liberty; for the same Judges who deliver'd him up to the Inquisition, took him out again, and the Officers of the Inquisition did the same, and all of them pray'd, intreated and press'd him to deliver himself up to the People, and open'd him the Gates, as the only Way to save themselves; and he went not out himself, but the People took him out, with such Eagerness to deliver him, and with such Shouts, Acclamations and Blessings for him, that I believe the like was never seen. It cannot be
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for his Receiving the Benefit God was pleas'd to bestow on him by what Means in his Goodness he thought fit, and with such Damage to so many Persons, for Prisoners and Captives unjustly detain'd, have not only a Lawful Right to accept of Liberty given them by the whole Multitude, but even to contrive it themselves by any Means, and even to oppose an unjust Judge, in case of Violence offer'd, and they are not only justifiable in so doing, but oblig'd to it. Nor can it be for the Affair of the Inquisition, tho' human Flattery endeavours to raise the Prince over Spirituals, or to make use of that Scourge to satisfy his Wrath; for the Contrivance and Subordination is prov'd by a Process granted at the Request of a whole Kingdom, convinc'd of the Wrong it receiv'd in that particular, by its Privileges, by Precedents, by the Capitulations mention'd in the Account of what hapned on the 25th of September, and by the Right they have against the Inquisition. This is the Condition of *Antony Perez*, and it is the better still after all this Persecution, and so many Proposals made and Rewards offer'd in his King's Name for his Life. Nor is it a small Matter in his Favour, that all the Violence us'd, all the Practices of Envy, and all the Arts of Man could not make him appear what they would have him, in 12 Years there present, without any other Defence than his Presence, which was no better than a living Carcass. But now let any Christian, any one that is zealous for the Honour of the

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the Inquisition, any upright Counsellor of this King or his Successor show me, how that Court can be vindicated for having done so much Wrong to *Antony Perez*, detaining his Wife and Children in Prison, a thing never practis'd against an absent Criminal, tho' notoriously such, to obstruct his Defence, and stop the Mouths of the Parties concern'd, and to hinder them from pleading for their Husband and Father, and for themselves, as far as they can pretend to have Share in the Wrong done to him. They must either grant that the said Court and the King's Passion have combin'd for the Destruction of that Man; or at least, if they plead, that they do not justify the Imprisonment of those Persons, they must show what that Court has done in opposition to the Prince's Indignation, to discharge its own Duty. But what needs any more to confound them in this Point? After so many Wrongs and several Tryals, after the miserable Confinement of the Mother and Children, and depriving them of the Means of making their Defence, or almost of breathing, they have commenc'd a Suit in the *Rota* at *Rome* against *Don Gonzalo Perez*, eldest Son to *Antony Perez*, who has neither Father, nor Mother, nor Brother, nor Kinsman, nor any to support him, nor is he allow'd himself, for how can he who is no Criminal, be put upon his Tryal, without being summon'd, and expected, and heard, if he will appear in Person. Against him I say, a Suit is commenc'd, to take away a Revenue of the Church he has of his own,

own, given him by Pope *Gregory* the 13th of happy Memory, before he was wean'd, and this only in Respect to his Father. In granting of which Favour, because the Receiver was so young, the Father's Services to the See Apostolick are mention'd, as may be seen in the Bull. And tho' the Prosecutor was so great a King, and the Defendant a Child, a Prisoner, and bury'd alive, yet he was acquitted, and that after an extraordinary Manner, but by the Judgment and Determination of Pope *Clement* the 8th. But the best of it is, that the Sentence is not obey'd, but the Son remains a Prisoner, and his Revenue wrongfully detain'd. Bless me good God! Is not this a sufficient Vindication? Let them release that Mother and Children, and all the other Wrongs done to the Father, will be redress'd in two Hours, if they are but heard, with that Liberty which the Laws of God and Nature allow them. For the Redress of other Wrongs, only consists in proving the Matter of Fact, by Wills, by Testimonials, by Employments held many Years before, and by the unanimous Voice and Report of whole Towns and Cities from End to End, to be produc'd as Witnesses. But that I may come to some Conclusion, to say that he is not defenceless, who is summon'd, tho' he be absent, and that it is his own Fault if he does not appear, cannot be allow'd, because it would be contrary to the Law of God and Nature to appear and put himself into the Hands of a Court, where Passion arm'd with the Sword of arbitrary Power sits as Judge.

This is evidently made out by the Cruelties I have mention'd, which have been so wrongfully executed upon all that Kingdom. The like of them were never seen, unless in those Ages when the unbounded Wrath of Princes and their violent Inclinations carry'd all before them like a Whirlwind. If we may be allow'd to call those Natural Inclinations, which produce such Actions, as inflicting of Punishments without any previous Tryal, nay, not so much as Sentence pronounc'd, or notice given to the Patient. Now when the Storm is so high; when a whole Kingdom is in disorder; when all publick and private Laws are confounded, it is but just that the Causes, (which have suffer'd so much wrong) be try'd before a more Sovereign and Free Court, and that the Defendants be safe and out of danger; especially since there is such a Court in being, to which both Parties appeal'd when present, and whilst the Cause was depending. Nor can *Antony Perez* be condemn'd for withdrawing himself to any Countries indifferently, where he might be in safety against such violent Persecutions, after so much suffering; for, tho' this were forbidden, he must easily be discharg'd of that Guilt, by the many notorious Practices against his Person and Life, and by the Privilege of Self-preservation, which God and Nature have allow'd all Men since the Creation.

But perhaps they will charge him with the Forgery of a *Spanish* Packet intercepted in *Flanders*, by his most Christian Majesty's Officers, which I will give an Account of, because it is a

strange passage, tho' nothing is strange in this Age, which naturally produces such Contrivances and Machinations. It hapned, as has been said, that a *Spanish* Packet to the Duke of *Parma* was intercepted; containing an Order to the said Duke, to endeavour to rid himself of the Duke *de Mayenne*; either by securing, or making him away. In short, the Packet was against his Person. The most Christian King sent it away to the Duke *de Mayenne*, to shew him what was in Agitation, and what he had brought himself to. The Duke *de Mayenne* sent it to the Prince of *Parma*; who not knowing how to come off, contriv'd an extravagant Method, which was, to pretend to secure the Express, and keeping him up very privately, as it were upon Examination; and after many formalities, to produce a Confession in the said Express's name, declaring that the Packet intercepted was not the King of *Spain's*, but forg'd by *Antony Perez* with the Consent of the most Christian King, he making use of the King of *Spain's* Hand, which he could not fail of, as having been Secretary of State, and the whole a Forgery to make the Duke *de Mayenne* jealous of the King of *Spain* and his Ministers. But this is not all, there is still another Passage like this, tho' more odd, which hapned when the Duke *de Nevers* was at *Rome*, to make King *Henry* the 4th's Submission to the Pope. It was thus, The Duke *de Nevers* (pursuant to his Commission) presented a Letter from his Catholic Majesty to King *Henry*, when he was King of *Navarre*, the Purport whereof was to excite

him to declare War on King *Henry* the 3d of *France*, his Predecessor, and offering him 200000 Crowns, as a first Supply towards that War: The Duke presented this Letter to prove, that the King of *Spain's* Design in Assisting the Leaguers was not the Support of Religion, as was pretended, but only to embroil that Nation, to make good the Proverb, That ambitious Men fish best in troubled Kingdoms; since he stirr'd him up when King of *Navarre*, to make War on King *Henry* the 3d, who was a Catholick. Now it seems that the Catholick King's Ministers, being charg'd with this Letter, answer'd, It was likely it had been forg'd by *Antony Perez* for the most Christian King. *Antony Perez* saw the original Letter, which was shew'd him by *Monseur Gizes*, the most Christian King's Lieutenant in that Country, and he is very certain it is the same he saw in French, all of it writ by *Don John de Ydiaguez*. All that we may conclude from hence, is, That *Antony Perez* is made the Stalking-horse to hide all the Faults of others. Yet here his Fortune exerts it self, since to make him guilty of the greatest Falshood, they are fain to give him a King for an Associate. And what a King? I shall only say this of him, that he subdues his Enemies by open Force, punishes with Mercy, and exerts his Power by forgiving; a Godlike Disposition and the means to make Friends of Enemies, as the contrary will make Enemies of Friends; which is part of the Reward of the former, and part of the Punishment of the latter. No other remains, unless it be a

Crime in him, that he is the Object on which the Ministers of Justice have committed so many Offences, and that in him the Faults of others have been expos'd; as it happens with Beauty in Women, and the Lustre in Gold, which cause Men to try and betray their Failings. If this be his Guilt, there is enough of it, for nothing else has been done for above Twelve Years.

To return to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, and the many that have suffer'd of all Degrees, Sexes and Ages, so many several ways in their Persons, Honour, Lives and Estates, in the Destruction of Houses, Castles, Families, and of a whole Kingdom. All the *Aragonians* are in the same Condition with *Antony Perez*, and all of them wrong'd. For had not all those above-nam'd, and who have and do suffer, or are fled or out-law'd, done what they did, some in Remonstrating, others in acting pursuant to the Remonstrances, others in giving Judgment according to their Privileges; the Justice in obeying, the rest in following him, they had been guilty of a Capital Offence, according to the Laws and Privileges of that Kingdom, sworn to be observ'd by the King himself, and would be liable to such Punishment, whenever any Native should prosecute them in the Courts appointed for that Purpose, by the Fundamentals of that Kingdom. Not to be try'd before the King, for he is no Judge in *Aragon* in those Cases, nor can he declare or condemn any Man as a Traitor, or on any other Account whatsoever, tho' never so inconsiderable, for any Offence committed or pretended to be committed

mitted against his Person or Government ; nor will any Judgment, Declaration, or other Act of his be of any more Force against their Persons, Honour, or Estates, than if one Party should give Sentence against his Adversary, whether Plaintiff or Defendant. In short, the King in *Aragon*, when he has any Complaint against a Subject, is a Party and no Judge, according to the Nature and Laws of that Kingdom. Yet those who have not transgress'd are such great Sufferers for Obeying, or attempting to Act : Nay, it is still more astonishing, that the same Catholick King has apprehended and abus'd those, who, according to their Duty, serv'd the Kingdom, and obey'd it's Laws ; and even those were taken up and punish'd who serv'd him, and obey'd his Orders and Intreaties, and whom he afterwards thank'd by his Letters for so doing. Had this occur'd to me before I had began to shew how contrary to all Reason *Antony Perez* has been persecuted, the Kingdom wrong'd, and the King and Justice it self abus'd, I should have stop'd there full of Confusion, as I am now ; and I put it to all the World to tell how these Things can be reconcil'd ; and who can be a competent Judge in this Distraction ? Onely God, who can give Understanding to a deluded King, as having his Heart in his Hand, and being able to distinguish betwixt Violence and Right ; for Power may give Possession, but not Right, which is settled by infallible and inviolable Divine and Human Laws. Right is like Fire, and other natural Things, which tho' stifled by Oppression,

and losing its Operation for some Time, yet cannot lose that true Property which Nature has given it. Now to come to the Prince himself, so to conclude what I have undertaken to demonstrate; may not we properly say, That the King himself may look upon himself as the most wrong'd in the Oppression of that Kingdom, the Over-turning of Justice, the Violation of Privileges, and such Havock and Desolation as has been made, without any legal Proceeding; and this Wrong comes either from his own Hands, (for very often Men blinded by Passion hurt themselves) or from his wicked Ministers and Counsellors, or Flatterers of his Anger. Counsellors who betray their perverse Nature, or their indiscreet Desire of Revenge, laying the Odium of their own private Grudges on their Prince; or who like Physicians that wish for Diseases, desire their Masters should be employ'd, or under such Difficulties that they may not look into their Crimes; or else they are of the Opinion, not to say the Sect, of one, of whom I shall here deliver a Truth, tho' very scandalous, suitable to the matter in hand, because it hapned in the presence of *Antony Perez*, between two great Men of this Age, some years since, and before other Witnesses of the like Quality. Besides it will shew how long the Liberties of *Aragon* have been grudg'd at, and that it is no new Thing for evil Counsellors to flatter Princes, and pay them a sort of Idolatry, by endeavouring to raise them to an Arbitrary Power and to Act according to their Will. The Point is, That there happening

to be some Discourse concerning the Liberties of Aragon, on Account of some Controversies betwixt that Kingdom and the King's Officers, touching the asserting of its Privileges, one of these two Counsellors * a Man great in Peace and War, said, *What need they trouble themselves, for if they would give him 3 or 4000 Soldiers, of those he had bred, he would put an End to all the Liberties of Aragon.*

* The Duke de Alva.

* The other great Man, tho' not so ancient and experienc'd, yet of excellent natural Parts, and well qualify'd

* The Marques de los Velez.

by reading, and of a superior Genius, tho' their Quality was equal, answer'd the elder, first as it were in Jest: *That if he knew of half a Dozen such Kingdoms as that of Arragon, tho' that of Ecz and such others were of the Number, he should offer them to his King, for he would prevail with him to accept of them upon the same Terms.* Then in a more serious tone, as concern'd to hear such Words from a Counsellor, and because he was a Zealous Observer of his Duty and of the Law of Nature, he added, *That he intreated him not to give his King any such Advice, if he desir'd to see him enjoy the Kingdoms he had inherited in Peace, and to transmit them to his Successors; but rather that he should advise him to preserve them with those Immunities, and upon such Terms as they had come to him by Inheritance.*

This was more prudent, more wholesome, more Christian, and better Advice for the Publick, and for the Prince himself, than the other; for the Exercise of Arbitrary Power is dangerous for Kings, odious to the Subjects, and offensive to

God and Nature, as may appear by Thousands of Instances in History. And it is observable, that the latter Kings of *Rome* having made ill use of this Power, the Emperors who took upon them the Sovereignty, durst not take upon them the Name of Kings, but that of Emperors; which tho' it have a more Arbitrary Signification, as it is to Command more than to Rule, yet they thought it not so offensive as the other, which they had who before abus'd it. So that it is the good or bad, the moderate or arbitrary Use of a Thing which makes it safe, or dangerous, amiable or hateful; and even the softer Name becomes most odious, through the Severity of him that bears it. Hence follows another Observation to be made of the noble Nature of Kingdoms and Subjects, which is, that for the most part only that which is odious, or the mistaken apprehension of it, leads them into Revolts, and Dislike; whereas on the other Hand a gentle Government and good Usage secures their Affection and stills them like Children, and even makes them voluntarily to sacrifice themselves. For this Reason Subjects ought to wish or pray for nothing so much towards making them happy, as that God would give their Prince faithful Ministers and good Counsellors; because they are, as it were, the Eyes and Understanding of Kings, and have the same Effect on them as these have on the Soul and Body, so that if the Prince has weak Ministers, he is as it were Blind; and if they are wicked and partial, it is the same as if his Understanding were disorder'd and in confusion. Princes themselves,

themselves, if they love their own Safety, are not to be more shy of Physicians who either through ignorance, or to flatter their Humour, allow them such Diet as is prejudicial to their Health and destructive to Nature, than of Counsellors who perswade them it is lawful to follow their own Arbitrary Will. Such Counsellors will in a short Time put an End to the Prosperity and Reign of their Kings, and wear out the Patience of the Subjects. Those that will not believe me, nor Experience, may believe the Holy Ghost, who says, *Because of unrighteous Dealings, In-*

Eccle. 10. 8.

juries, and Riches got by Deceit, the Kingdom is translated from one People to another. Let no Man think I have taken too much Liberty in talking of the Counsellors of Princes, I speak of the evil ones, if there are none such I speak of no Man; and if there are, it is the Truth and their own Faults that gaul them, and not I. Besides that, the Excess is grown so great, and evil Counsellors go on so fast in ruining their Kings and Kingdoms, by taking away all the lawful Bounds of Power, that any Man may lawfully speak, and cannot well forbear proclaiming and declaring the Divine and Natural Laws of human Power; to the End, that tho' the Use of them be suspended for a Time, yet the Memory of them may not be lost when Occasion shall serve. Nor let it be thought offensive, that I treat of the Power of Princes, for it is no other than treating of their Life and Health, that is, of their Safety and Preservation. Besides, since Surgeons and Physicians are allow'd to cut and scarify the living

ing Flesh to preserve the Body ; neither Princes themselves nor any others ought to think it an Offence, to tell them what a Man thinks freely, and even to condemn them for what they Act wrongfully against their Subjects ; these being Truths necessary to be known and grounded on the Laws of God and Nature : Nay more, if the wrong'd are allow'd to complain to their Kings against themselves, and to tell them in their Petition, only under those Words, with humble Submission, That they have not Right done them ; then that same Liberty is allow'd to all men concern'd, and they may use their Endeavours that such Complaints and Grievances may reach their Ears ; and if all this will not do, they may appeal to Heaven and Nature. Let the particular Laws and Statutes of every Kingdom, publish'd by the Authority of Kings, that Subjects may know what they are allow'd to do, and what not, be destroy'd and abolish'd. Let Order be inverted, and let that be establish'd as a Duty which before was a Crime. Let Nature it self be chang'd, unless we may say she is now expiring, and all Things tending to their End ; for I cannot but think that the Commotions and Distractions we behold, are Nature's Groans and Complaints, as the common Mother, seeing her Rules and Methods quite alter'd and her Decree revers'd. But it were better, in my Opinion, to follow the Example of King *Ahasuerus*, in giving Ear to the Falshood of partial Ministers who are engag'd in the Ruin of many ; in changing of Resolutions ; in recalling Orders given against a whole Kingdom,

Kingdom, without looking upon it as a Point of Honour to persist in what is once undertaken; for methinks that Kingdom is under the same Circumstances as the Children of *Israel* were under that King; and this Prince if he will but give Ear, and remove his Eyes from the mist of other Mens Falshood and Malice, which have incens'd him, and allow Truth and Just Complaints to reach him; he will find the Case is much the same, the same Truth and the same Deceits, as the other did; the same *Hamans* and Disturbers of the publick Peace, on whom to bestow the Gallows, the other rais'd for *Mordecai*. Let this King look upon the Justice of a whole Kingdom, if he will not pity the poor Wife and Children of *Antony Perez*, whom he keeps under Captivity and Oppression, let him do it, tho' it be but to prevent God's taking of it upon himself, as he would certainly have done then, (as we may believe from his Goodness) had not he redress'd it whose Duty it was. Let him do it that God may not bring this Cause to be Try'd before his Tribunal, as belonging to him for several Reasons, and more particularly, because the suffering Parties have now no other Appeal but to his Protection and Justice; and for his own Honour's sake, that he will not forget he is the sole Sovereign Lord in Heaven and on the Earth. And if he will not have Compassion on any of those I have mention'd, let him at least take pity on himself, and redress what is amiss and make Satisfaction in Time, and not leave it to the last Moment; for tho' sometimes Remedies may take Effect in the
utmost

utmost extremities, yet it is not without imminent Danger, and sometimes the Loss of some considerable Part; that is, not without much Reflection on the Prince, and his own great Confusion to think whether the Satisfaction he has made be full, or whether he shall be accountable for it before the great Tribunal, where (they say) a Man shall pay to the utmost Farthing. If the Example I have brought be not sufficient, turn over the Records of Time, and they will produce a Thousand Instances, which are so many Warnings to make good what I have here said. But if the King would have an Example among his own Predecessors, I think there is none like that Piece of the History of King *Peter of Aragon* and *Don Bernard de Cabrera*. This Gentleman perceiving the whole Envy and Malice of the Court was bent and had conspir'd against him, and being sensible of the Danger, left his King's Service and betook himself to a Religious habit. The King seeing all things went wrong, since he was depriv'd of the Assistance and Advice of that Servant, drew him from the Monastery and Habit which had conceal'd him, and restor'd him to the Management of all his Affairs. But Envy soon broke out anew, and grew to such a Head, that it never gave over till it brought him to his End, and his Head was cut off, he declar'd a Traitor, and false Counsellor, and his Estate forfeited. Yet the same *Peter* to discharge his own Conscience and to do him Right, declar'd in his Will that he had been a most Faithful Subject and Counsellor; and all the Proceedings against him

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most unjust, as contriv'd by deceitful Ministers, Enemies to them both ; and therefore order'd that all his Estate should be restor'd to his Grandson, on whom he also bestow'd extraordinary Favours, in Part of Satisfaction for the Wrong done. This may be seen at large in the Annals of *Zurita*, in the Life of King *Peter*, and is very well worth observing, as a Warning to all Men to dread the Service of Kings, to avoid their Favour and Familiarity, and to be a check upon worldly Prosperity. But if Passion shall prevail so far, and this Prince shall be withheld by his own Confusion and the Malice of others, at least may his Successor take Pity on those crying Infants that want Tongues to speak, and can find no Ears to hear them ; since in his tender Years he shew'd such tender Compassion, on that Holy *Thursday* when the Children were taken up, that he said to his Father, *What fault is it of theirs, if their Father has made his escape.* May he take Pity on his Kingdoms ; may he take Pity on himself at his first Accession to the Throne. This I say, because no Wind shut up in the Bowels of the Earth can produce such violent Effects in Earthquakes, as will the Sighs and Groans of oppress'd Wretches at the Beginning of Reigns, tho' they seem never so well settled, especially when they are the Cries of Widows and Orphans : Much more of a Widow that has a Husband, as that Woman has ; and of Orphans that have Parents, like those Children. The boldest and most daring Prince ought to dread the Hand of God in such Cases. *David* was the best King that ever did or will Reign ; a Man perfect

perfect in all Points ; God's own Favourite : His Kingdom labour'd under the Calamity of a Famine, he in this Affliction, not knowing what the Cause of it might be, had Recourse to God and understood it was for the Wrongs done by *Saul* and his Ministers to the *Gibeonites*, and yet they were *Amorites*, and *Saul* was not *David's* Father. Let no Man mistake and think that *David* referr'd it to his Presidents and Counsellors to consider of the Satisfaction to be made ; but to the Parties themselves that had been wrong'd, as believing that the putting a Stop to that Calamity and the Safety of his Person and Kingdom depended on the Fulness of the Satisfaction made to the Persons aggriev'd, and on their Blessings on them for it. No Man ought to be scandaliz'd at this way of making Satisfaction, the Example is given by God and *David*, and God approv'd of it, by causing the Punishment to cease. What the Satisfaction was, may be seen in the Holy Scripture, and the Example will be of excellent use to the Prince that shall duly consider it, and to his Kingdoms. Here I will conclude, only adding, That I own I am sensible this Paper may seem too long for the Title I gave it, but I do not design to alter it, for it is still but a Relation, or short Account of the matter of Fact, and but as it were a Model of the Structure I have design'd.

THE



The Fata! Effects of Arbitrary Power, &c.

B O O K II.

THE Deputies of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, after what hapned on the 24th of *May*, this same Year, on Account of *Antony Perez's* being carry'd away to the *Aljaferia*, where the Inquisition is, and after his being restor'd the same Day, to the Prison of the *Manifestation*, where he was before Prisoner, with that dreadful Commotion before mention'd, the Deputies I say, perceiving that the King's Ministers (who were the Authors of that contrivance) still persisted in the Resolution of putting it in Execution again, and that there still continu'd to be a general Commotion and Uneasiness on that Account, till Interest and their private Ends had debauch'd some of the Great Ones from their Duty; they resolv'd to assemble thirteen Lawyers, to debate whether it was not against their Privileges that *Antony Perez* had been deliver'd up to the Inquisition, before the Cause depend-
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ing against him had been adjudg'd, and whether the Tryal by *Manifestation* could be let fall, or put off. The thirteen Lawyers being sensible it needed no deep Study or much Examination to discover the great Wrong offer'd in that attempt (for those opinions are most impartial, which have not been bias'd by the Prince's Will, but proceed from untainted Nature) soon agreed unanimously, that the delivering up of *Antony Perez* to the Inquisition, had been a Breach of Privilege. This was well known to all Sorts and Conditions, and publickly declar'd about the Streets, all Men gazing at one another in Admiration, and blessing themselves for what had been done. But Passion and Partiality blind Reason and cloud the Truth. The Justice of *Aragon's* Lieutenants, and the other Managers and Favourers of that wicked Contrivance, understanding that the thirteen Lawyers had given an upright Judgment, bethought them of other Practices, and among the rest one very base and scandalous; which was, That *Micer Torralva*, one of the said Lieutenants and another Person, who was kill'd on this Day we now speak of, (and of whom more shall be said hereafter, as having declar'd much against himself and touching this Conspiracy at the hour of his Death) went about by Night corrupting the thirteen Lawyers. A true Deed of darkness, and not fit to be known to Mankind. They press'd them to recede from the Truth, and to give it under their Hands, that what had been done was no Breach of Privilege. This was done because the Lieutenants found

found they were in Danger of being Punish'd, for having so illegally deliver'd up *Antony Perez*. When the Court of the Lieutenants had in a Confuse manner decreed, That *Antony Perez* should be deliver'd up by suspending the *Manifestation*, and not by annulling of it, neither of which could be Allow'd without a full Tryal, and when *Micer Torralva* the Lieutenant that was to pronounce the Decree, and *Antony Perez*'s particular Judge, who was already possess'd by Ambition and a Compliance to his Prince's Will, as if it were by the Devil, had pass'd the Judgment. I know for certain, That *Micer Baptista*, another of the Judges, hearing him, said, *How so? No such Matter was resolv'd, but only that the Manifestation should be suspended, and he has cut all our Throats.* He apprehended the Reward due to such a Wrong, when the Court of the Seventeen should sit; which is the Tribunal for calling to Account the Lieutenants, as I shall presently declare. And he had good Reason to fear, because the Penalty was according to *Lex Talionis*, and the more for the late Judgment given against *Micer Torralva*, on Account of the unjust Judgment by him given against *Antony Perez*. These coming all together, the Judges made Use of all the Arts of Violence, and by that Means prevail'd, so that the Thirteen Lawyers declar'd, That what had been done was no Breach of Privilege. For now that Great and Ancient Charter and Immunity of Free-will bestow'd on Man by God himself, for Man to merit by, is going to Decay, and

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becomes

becomes a Slave to the Prince's Pleasure and the Dread of him. But yet all Men were fully Satisfy'd it was a Breach of Privilege, by their Charters, by Precedents, by Capitulations with the Inquisition, and by Reason it self. There is a Book call'd, *A Collection of the Immunities of the Kingdom of Aragon*, printed at *Zaragoza*, which I have read, and specifies, That one under the *Manifestation* can not be remov'd to the *Aljaferia*, where the Inquisition is, till the Cause depending is decided. As for Precedents, there is no Instance in the Memory of Man that this was ever infring'd; but there are many on the other side, which in the Courts of that Kingdom is look'd upon as Law. The Earl of *Aranda*, Father to him that dy'd in Prison during these Troubles, suspecting he should be summon'd by the Inquisitors, and fearing Imprisonment, put himself upon the *Manifestation*, and the Lieutenants confin'd him to the City of *Zaragoza*, by which Means he escap'd going to the Inquisition, tho' the Inquisitors summon'd him, because the *Aljaferia* is without *Zaragoza*. There is still another Precedent of greater Force, which was urg'd and prov'd on Account of this Cause. It is, That *D. Bernard de Castro*, an *Aragonian* Gentleman of Quality, being first secur'd by the Inquisition, try'd and deliver'd up to the Secular Magistrate, his Kindred and Friends put him upon the *Manifestation*, and his Execution was respited, and the Justice of *Aragon's* Court sat upon the Inquisition, and the Person condemn'd by it, as Parties, to try whether the

Manifestation

Manifestation could take Place, in Right of the Immunity of the Nobles. Both Parties pleaded, and upon a full Hearing, the Court declar'd, That the *Manifestation* could not take Place. So that if Judgment had been Given in Favour of the *Manifestation*, it would have avail'd him, or if he had been entitled to the Benefit of the Immunities. This Instance plainly shews how great Wrong was done to *Antony Perez*, in not trying his Right to the *Manifestation* in the First Place, since it was so done in the aforesaid Precedent; tho' then there was a Tryal past, and Sentence given before, and in the Case of *Antony Perez*, there was only a Demand made to deliver up his Person; and it was prov'd, that what they laid to his Charge was a meer Contrivance and Combination. The Precedent of *Antony Gamir* is of a late Date, positive and well prov'd. He put himself upon the *Manifestation*, for Fear of the Inquisition, to shew that what I say was a known Practice. The Inquisition immediately demanded him: He was refus'd by the Lieutenant of the *Manifestation*, with the Advice of the whole Court. The Inquisition excommunicated the Judge, and the Cause was remov'd to *Rome*. The Kingdom sent a Gentleman to that Court, and spent a Considerable Sum of Money, I have been told above 50000 Ducats in that Suit against the Inquisition. In the mean while the Judge dy'd, and they would not permit him to be bury'd in hallow'd Ground. The Kingdom kept the Body embalm'd in Great State till the Case was

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decided at *Rome*, which was done in Favour of him, and the Kingdom bury'd him Magnificently. The Prisoner who had put himself upon the *Manifestation* and had been demanded by the Inquisition, was not deliver'd.

By Agreement made with the Inquisition, it Plainly appears, that what was intended against *Antony Perez* was illegal; and particularly by that made at the *Cortes*, held in the Year 1585. There the Kingdom urg'd many Wrongs receiv'd from the Inquisitors, in Breach of its Privileges and Immunities, and to avoid entring too far upon the Debate of what was past, and regulating of what was to come, it was agreed betwixt the King and Kingdom, that Commissioners should be appointed within Six Months to settle those Affairs, and to Repair afterwards to *Rome* to confirm them; and that in Case this were not done, the Kingdom might have Recourse to his Holiness to redress their Grievances, and disburse as much as should be requisite in that Affair. Now this New Case being started, the Kingdom propos'd to send Embassadors to *Rome* about it. But besides this Agreement or Capitulation, there is the Ancient one of the Days of the Catholick King *Ferdinand*, when the Kingdom of *Aragon* admitted of the Inquisition, only for a limited Term of Years; which is now suppos'd to be expir'd, and that on Account of the *Jews* and *Moors*, who were then numerous in *Spain*. These Things are so well Grounded, that several Remonstrances were made by Persons of all Conditions for the Kingdom

Kingdom to stand by the Wrong the Inquisition pretended to have receiv'd in the Affair of the *Manifestation*. For which Reasons the Kingdom resolv'd to send Embassadors to *Rome*, which were nam'd, and they began to Provide for their Journey. The Fear of standing Tryal with the Kingdom upon these Affairs, and lest the Person so much sought after should some way make his Escape, made those of the opposite Party the more Pressing to put an End to it by Force, as generally those who have the worst Cause make most Noise. And now most of the Deputies of the Kingdom being aw'd by the Prince's Pleasure, and Fear of his Anger, they began to slacken; and neither they nor any of the other Officers, whose Duty it was to maintain and assert the Liberties of the Kingdom, durst stir the least in Defence of the Kingdom against the Particular Court of the Inquisition. And yet it is no new Thing in *Spain* to oppose the Inquisition in Point of Jurisdiction; for we see it Daily practic'd even in *Castile*, and not only against that Court, but also against the Pope's Bulls, where the Civil Government is concern'd, and the Customs, Laws and Ordinances any way violated. Thus it appears by Precedents and Concordats, that it is no Offence to endeavour to have every Man's Cause try'd in the Legal Way. For as there are Church Censures on the one side, so the Liberties of *Aragon* have been confirm'd by Popes since their Institution, under most Heavy Censures. But nothing avail'd at this time, for all

the Design now was to Deliver up that Persecuted Man into the Hands of a Passion proceeding from Envy and Malice, to overthrow and trample down all those Privileges, and to confound that Kingdom, and deprive the *Aragonians* of their Great Extraordinary Liberties. Let not this be look'd on as a meer Notion, or as magnifying of Things; for before I left *Spain*, or that King's Court, I saw Letters writ by *Don James de Bobadilla*, Earl of *Chinchon*, to some of the Duke de *Villahermosa's* Vassals, encouraging them to proceed in their Revolt against their Lord, which began Two Years before the Troubles I now speak of, and promising them their King's Favour, assuring that Proceeding would be pleasing to him. But we must not speak here of other Illegalities committed by particular Judges, of Processes that have been falsify'd, enlarg'd or retrench'd, and all to gain the Prince's Favour by such Means, and so adapted to serve disorderly Inclinations, that they have been presented in the High Court of the Inquisition, with the dismal Complaints of wrong'd and suffering Persons, and of injur'd Maids and Young Marry'd Women, overcome and enjoy'd by Means of such Judgments; for there are few who will not submit to a private Dishonour, rather than be expos'd to publick Shame; these Things I say must not be spoken of, but we can only beseech the supreme Inquisitor upon Earth, that he will apply some Remedy, before the Almighty God takes it in Hand, as he is wont to do,

do, when Wrongs have no Redress on Earth. But no more of this, for it is now become a Crime for any Man to complain of his Sufferings and Wrongs, and to condole those the Publick endures, as it is to demand Justice and even to have it on his side.

Much more might be offer'd in Vindication of what has been said, but one Particular Argument is, That *Ejus est tollere, cujus est condere*; now the Liberties are establish'd by the King and Kingdom, that is, by the *Cortes* Legally assembled, and this Immunity of the *Manifestation*, which, as has been declar'd in the Proceedings of the 24th of *May*, is a Preserving of every Man's Right, and a Protection against the Power of the Prince's Anger, was one of the Primitive and most Fundamental Privileges, and whose Ruin would be the Downfal of all the Liberties of *Aragon*. Thus only the *Cortes* can abolish or alter any Privilege. Besides the *Manifestation* is a Privilege, and Grace, in Favour of the Subject and Defendant, and therefore it is a Ceremony for the Cryer of the Court to say to the Party, *Will you put your self upon the Manifestation*; taking him by the Right Hand at the same Time; whence most Men conclude, That either the Party must Renounce his Right to the *Manifestation*, or be try'd by it's Rules. There is another Particular of Great Moment, besides all that has been said, which is, That the Inquisition soon after what hapned on the 24th of *May*, put out an Edict against all that were concern'd that Day

in restoring of *Antony Perez* to the Prison of the *Manifestation*. This alarm'd the Multitude, perceiving it was contriv'd to make them uneasy for what had been done, and to terrify them for the Future. Hereupon the Deputies of the Kingdom, with the Advice of Lawyers, declar'd, That no Man ought to be apprehensive of that Excommunication reaching him, because what had been done was contrary to a Privilege, and their Liberties and Immunities were confirm'd by Popes, and most heavy Censures laid on those that should break or suffer them to be broken. Besides what has been said, the Opinions of many other Lawyers were made Pubick in every Point, contrary to that of the Thirteen ; and among them was the Judgment of a Great Man and Supreme Judge, in Compassion to the Violence offer'd to Justice, tho' he did not put his Name to it, for Fear of the prevailing Power. Wretched Condition of a Kingdom ! But I must speak of the Sentence, I said a while ago the Court of the Seventeen pronounc'd against *Micer Torralva*, one of the Lieutenants, and Particular Judge in the *Manifestation* of *Antony Perez*, and in other Cases he had Depending and well Grounded on known Privileges, for the Wrongs and Injustice he had done him in them. This Man was condemn'd to lose his Employment for ever, to be banish'd the Kingdom, and to pay Costs ; yet was this Sentence so merciful that there were Seven Votes for Hanging of him. Nor is this to be wonder'd at, for his Indictment was full of Scandalous

Scandalous and Heinous Offences, and it was prov'd he had us'd Threats and hard Words to the Prisoner, sending him Word he must take heed how he behav'd himself, for he had his Life in his Hands, and would deliver him to the Inquisition, if he accus'd him, but if he did not he would give him those Hands he desir'd to save himself. The Marquis *de Almenara*, on the other Hand us'd all manner of terrifying Expressions, and seeing this wrought no Effect on him, try'd all manner of Proffers of obtaining his Liberty and bringing him off of all. Thus had Violence prevail'd, to the great Dishonour of the King, and in Contempt of Justice, provoking God to take upon him the Protection of the oppress'd.

Having promis'd above to give an Account of the Court of the Seventeen, I will insert it here, as the proper Place for it. This Court Represents the whole Kingdom, and is the Supreme upon Earth, for there lyes no Appeal from it to the King, nor to any other. It was instituted among the first Rights of that Kingdom, when it settled it's Laws and the Conditions of it's Government, upon which they chose a King. The Judges are drawn by Lot from among those that are enroll'd and capacitated by the Four Estates of the Kingdom, by the Hand of a Child accidentally call'd at the very Time of drawing. And it is to be observ'd, that this Court does not draw up the Process against the Offender, for that is done by another Court, call'd of Inquisitors, drawn also by Lot
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out of the Four Estates of *Aragon*, who form it for the Seventeen to Pass Judgment, and these were instituted in Favour of the Subjects that have any Cause of Complaint, and are wrong'd by the Lieutenants, or their Inferior Officers. I have taken Notice hereof, because none but they can Impeach the Lieutenants, and the King himself cannot, tho' he finds himself wrong'd by them. So directly was this pointed to oppose the Prince's exorbitant Power. But there was more done in this Case, and the worst Part of it, and what it is likely made up the Sum of this Iniquity in the Sight of God, that he might permit what afterwards hapned. It was, That it appear'd, and Proof was made of a Combination carry'd on by Criminals pick'd out of Dungeons in the Prison, to make out the Calumny rais'd against *Antony Perez*, that in Case he came off by due Course of Law, he intended to go away into *Berne*, or *Holland*, there to be at his Liberty, and such Witnesses as these, taken out of such an infamous Place, were made use of as Evidence against him in the Inquisition, to remove him thither. This is Matter of Fact, for the Kingdom made Authentick and Legal Proof of it, and sent it to his Catholick Majesty and to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, as Inquisitor General, and the Generality of the People had the True and Natural Demonstration of it, seeing the Officers of the Inquisition resort to the Prison, to take the Depositions of such Witnesses. They were such, that they would not trust to Irons to carry them to be examin'd in the Inquisition; tho' one

one of them they did convey thither, loaded with Chains and Bolts, he being in Prison for Theft and Murder; besides that he was, as they call him in *Spain*, the Father of the lewd Women, and with him one of those Judges I speak of entertain'd a particular Familiarity. Consider what the rest of the Witnesses were.

The Multitude and all other Persons weigh'd the Justice of *Antony Perez's* Cause, the Force of Precedents, of Concordats, of their Immunities, and of Convincing Reasons. They observ'd the Arbitrariness and Illegality of the Proceedings, and how notorious and manifest it was, that after Twelve Years and a Half's Imprisonment in several Places, Eleven of them in *Castile*, where there was nothing to oppose against Violence and Absolute Will, and a Year and a Half spent in Tryals before the Courts of *Aragon*, yet they never came to a definitive Judgment against that Man, or to give Sentence in his Cause, but ever shifted it by unusual and scandalous Methods, well known to all Men. They plainly perceiv'd that as soon as he by his Testimonials and Vouchers, clear'd himself of one Indictment or Information, there was still another and another patch'd up, and sent from *Castile*, where they were kept in Readiness for the Purpose. All Persons were scandaliz'd at the long Imprisonment of his Wife and Innocent Children under Age to be accessory to any Crime, even to punishing of the Turn-keys for suffering the Children to go out from betwixt the four Walls, where they were confin'd, to take a little Air. They stood
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amaz'd, 'at the Imprisoning of two Grave *Aragonian* Religious Men, Persons of Great Honour in their Orders, who were seiz'd by Lay Officers, in such Rude and Shameful a Manner, that they were stripp'd stark naked, upon the Highway to search whether they had any Letters or other Papers from *Antony Perez*, and put into Irons by and in the Houses of the Catchpoles and Serjeants to Lay Judges, and rigidly condemn'd for going about that Man's Affairs. All these Considerations, with many more and greater Wrongs, which might easily be mention'd in Particular; and being well known and mention'd in Remonstrances and Processes, as above has been Declar'd, made the Multitude and all others conclude for certain that these Proceedings were notoriously Unjust, and that the Thing aim'd at was the Ruin of that Man, and the Subversion of the Liberties of *Aragon*. Hence all in general came to this necessary Conclusion, that either *Antony Perez* had Right in his *Manifestation* and other Claims, or he had not. If he had not, that he should be try'd and then deliver'd, since he was there in safe Custody, and might be so a Month or Two, for less Time would serve to put an End to his Cause, as he had been already Twelve Years and a Half; but that if he had Justice on his Side, he should be allow'd the Benefit of it. When once the Mind is possess'd by these concluding Reasons, there is no convincing, or moving of it. What would it have been, had they seen a Letter, and more than one from the Catholick King, to *Don John*
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de Gurrea, Governour of *Aragon*, I had it in my Hands, and still have a Copy of it, wherein the King Writes to him, that all Possible Means should be us'd to have *Antony Perez* condemn'd to Perpetual Imprisonment, or at least for some Years; and that if this could not be, they would from Time to Time send him fresh Informations to continue him in Prison; and that in the meanwhile, he should Endeavour to know of the Judges what Sentence could be given against *Antony Perez*. But, to shew how dismal a Thing it is for a King to have Evil Ministers about him, I will add the rest, which is, That the Letter being Writ by another Hand, his Majesty with his own interlin'd these Words. *That, if as much as was there mention'd could not be compass'd, yet at least Care should be taken that he might not get out of the Kingdom of Aragon, for that was the principal End aim'd at.* I have the Copy and no indifferent one, but attested and sign'd by the Protonotary of *Aragon*, who sent it for a Duplicate; and I do promise to make it Publick, with others of the like Nature, which I have not now at Hand. Such an Expence in Expresses, so much Loss of Time, and such Engaging a Multitude of Ministers and a whole Kingdom, upon such an Account was never seen before. Hence, tho' there were no other Reason for it, we may conclude, That all this Intrigue and Persecution is not the Consequence or Effect of a criminal legal Prosecution of a Man for his Offences; for Kings, unless they alter their Employ, do not intermeddle in those

those Proceedings, especially after having had him in their Hands so many Years, without being able, or finding the Way to bring him to his End ; but all this proceeded from Injuries and Wrongs done to the Subject on Account of some great secret Trust and signal Service and Merit. It was well said of a certain Person, That it was more dangerous for a Subject in that Condition to receive the Wrong from his Prince, than for him to offer it to his Sovereign. I have sometimes in my poor Capacity, study'd to find out a Reason for this, and can meet with but one, which is, That the Prince pardoning the Subject that has offended becomes the Creditor and secures the other to him by that Effect of his Mercy; but never thinks himself safe in the Subject he has offended, because he looks upon himself as Debtor, being always out of Countenance for his Injustice towards him. *Antony Perez* knows what I mean, and that no more can be said of it at Present, but he will another Day, for he is gathering Materials to write that Prince's Life, and there all shall be explain'd at large which is here suppress'd, relating to the Subject I here speak of, which will be a Considerable Part of that History.

To return to my Relation. All the aforesaid Methods being us'd, they insisted so earnestly upon executing their important Design, that they brought it to bear against the 20th of *August* ensuing, and to that Purpose was held the great Assembly of Courts, a Duke, Earls, Lords and Gentlemen, never to be Parallel'd, as
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are all the other Particulars of this Affair. The Courts of the Kingdom and City met at the Viceroy's House, representing the Kingdom, which scandaliz'd all Men, because it was contrary to a Privilege. Things were carry'd on with much Noise, and great Preparations made of regular Troops, Weapons, Warlike Instruments and Fire Arms, for no Element, or Instrument escap'd, but what was apply'd and forc'd to Serve to the Execution of their Designs. All the City of *Zaragoza* rose in Arms. Nothing was free from Confusion. The Streets were cover'd with Soldiers, Drums and Colours. All this then vanish'd like Smoak, and no Body knew how, nor whom to attribute it to, but to the Almighty Hand of God, the Lord of Hosts, against whom no Wisdom, Counsel or Power is of any Force. But human Obstinacy, which will not so easily submit, could not be wrought upon to desist. The Ministers engag'd in the Practice were positive to have it executed; the Lords and Noblemen, who had promis'd and brought Men and Assistance for that Delivery, press'd it might be perform'd, and they would be aiding with Forces again, and assist themselves in Person, which agrees very well with what hapned afterwards. The Earl of *Sassago*, one of that Cabal, hearing it objected, That what they were again going about was contrary to a known Privilege, said, *Let us once deliver Antony Perez, and we will afterwards see to set our Liberties right again.* The Courts and Councils said they would be no Hindrance.

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At length, being all agreed, from the Viceroy to the meanest Officer, Lords, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, excepting some few, they concert-ed to deliver the Prisoner on the 24th of *September*. It was very well worth Observing, That, tho' this Resolution was in Effect the Tryal and Condemnation of a Man and his whole Family, of a Supreme Court, and of one of the greatest, or the greatest of all the Liberties of *Aragon*, yet the Managers, without putting it to the Vote, prepar'd and dispos'd all Things for the Execution, being sure of the Sentence, as having receiv'd Earnest for the Sale. And if any thing can be still more remarkable, it is, That such a Resolution should be put in Execution, before it was pronounc'd or notify'd, without giving the Patient an Hour's Warning, that he might plead his Cause, and that for Four Months past not one Day had been allow'd to hear him, or his Plea, but all spent in contriving the Execution. At length on the 24th before break of Day the Governour assembled all the Troops provided by the Kingdom, I mean by the Deputies, for as I have already observ'd, some of them went about the City that were already corrupted, and these are they who for their Private Ends, or their Private Quarrels, or Desire of Revenge, have brought that Kingdom to utter Ruin, to their own Loss, and not without their Repentance, which I pray to God may not come too late, since Time and Experience has taught many Lords, Noblemen and Gentlemen, what they ought to have done. The
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Forcés amounted to above 2000 Men. The Governour dispos'd them orderly. In the Market Place, before the Prison of the *Manifestation* were above 800, with some of the Horse under his Command. The Rest in other Places. The Streets were mann'd, and barricaded with Carts. He went the Rounds all the Night with Torches and much Noise, and as soon as it was Day, he appear'd in a warlike Posture, arm'd at all Points. He rode all about the Streets threatning every Body, and firing here and there to terrify the People. The Governour order'd a young Child, Nephew to one of the Aldermen to be Shot, because he shout-ed among others, the Ball went through his Head, and he dropt down dead. He himself wounded some others. All this was done in the Morning, before the Occasion was publish'd, which was a great Affliction to the People; and incens'd them to a high Degree; seeing this Violence took place of Justice. When the Council was met, the Officers of the Inquisition repair'd to it with their Orders now a second time, contriv'd by the Advice of the thirteen Lawyers and the Judges themselves. They demanded the Bodies of *Antony Perez*, and of *John Francis Mayorini*, a *Genoese*, who had been assisting to *Antony Perez* on the Road from *Castile* to *Aragon*; for the first Orders having nothing to ground them on, and Passion having blinded the Contrivers, had not been so formally drawn up. Remonstrances were made,

at the same Moment, on behalf of the Prisoners, and in the Name of some Gentlemen, against the Execution, before that very Council, and that of the Kingdom. The Matter being before concerted and resolv'd on, without any thing to obstruct it, it was order'd they should be deliver'd. The following Persons, who all were sure before-hand, and knew what would be decreed, which is very strange, set forwards immediatly towards the Prison, to put it in Execution, they were the Bishop of *Tervel* Vice-roy, a Lieutenant, a Deputy, two Aldermen, with their Maces, and other Officers, the Duke of *Villahermosa*, the Earls of *Aranda*, *Morata*, *Sastago*, almost all the Lords and Gentlemen, except only some few, and with them the Officers of the Inquisition, its Secretary, *Alguazil*, and in short all the Rest. All these in the greatest Order, according to their Precedency by the Ceremonial, that it might strike an Awe into the People, and strengthen the Execution. The Deputies, Lieutenants, and the new Justice, for his Father dy'd two Days before, stay'd in their own Courts. It was reported that the Justice dy'd of a Conceit that the Prisoner had summon'd him before the Tribunal of God, for the Wrongs done him whilst his Cause was depending, and at last for confining him closer in Prison. It is very well worth observing, as to this Particular, that when the Justice went out of the Prison, after leaving *Antony Perez* so closely

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confin'd, the Multitude, and even the Retailers and Apple-women in the Market, began to curse him in open Cry, to the great Amazement of all those that heard them. Thus what I said of his dying of Conceit, may be very well credited; for he was carry'd directly from the Prison to his Bed, out of which he never rose, but ended his Days in that melancholy Fit, believing he was summon'd. Let none, even the Great ones of the Earth, condemn the Curses of the Multitude, for they are dreadful, and of fearful Consequence; for the Cries of the People of *Israel* brought God down from Heaven, and what the Effect of them was is well known. Cries and Complaints are the greatest of Curses, because they leave the Vengeance to God. Hence I believe the Voice of the People was call'd the Voice of God, because where they end, that is, their Cries and Complaints to God, as the last Remedy, there he begins to work his Wonders and Prodigies.

The Cause, or Pretence the old Justice had for confining *Antony Perez* closer, was a made Story, that he was filing an Iron Bar to break Prison; which was most certainly a meer Invention and Slander, for immediately Witnesses appear'd, and it was prov'd in Form before the Kingdom, that another had done it. There was a wonderful struggle betwixt the Truth and Malice and Invention, in all these Affairs, and they seem to have vy'd to out-do one another.

This Forgery was so plain, that one of the Judges said, they knew not how to lay the Charge of that Falshood, or how to bring it into Court. It was certainly contriv'd the better to colour the delivering up of *Antony Perez*, and to oblige him, being destitute of all other Remedy or Redress by Law, to deliver himself up in Despair, to the Mercy and Justice of Oppression; as also to try whether removing of him out of the Peoples Sight, could lessen the Love and Esteem they had for him. This Affection was so great that all sorts of Persons made it their Business to see him, and to provide him with all Necessaries. I will not omit telling a Story in this Place, which tho' inconsiderable, deserves to be related, because I observe that in History such Things are regarded, to judge by them of greater. The Story is, that an Apple woman who sold her poor Ware under the Windows of the Prison, where *Antony Perez* was, and who had more Rags on her Coat than Knap, and more Children than Rags, perceiving how the People flock'd to supply *Antony Perez* out of Charity, took upon her to furnish him daily with some of her Fruit; and one day taking Notice that People resorted to him with more Diligence than usual, for their Care and Sollicitude for him redoubled as did the Malice of his Enemies, she brought a little Plate of Fruit, and under it ten Royals, (about 3 s. 4 d.) and gave it very demurely to *Antony Perez* with her own Hand, without his knowing

knowing that he receiv'd any thing but the Fruit. These ten Royals from such a Person, had there been nothing else, might have struck a Terror in his Persecutors, by convincing them that they who strive against such Actions contend with Heaven, which they seem not to fear, who do not apprehend such *Opposers*. From this general Affection, they concluded that *Anthony Perez* was a Wizard and Enchanter, and gain'd the Love of the People that way; as if that, especially when so universal, were to be acquir'd by such base means, or even by personal Merit, and were not rather a peculiar Gift from above. Such Industry was us'd to put him out of Favour with the World, that a famous Religious Man and Preacher, us'd his Endeavours to perswade some Ladies, who reliev'd *Antony Perez* with his daily Bread, to desist from so doing; for it is well known, tho' it is scandalous, that he liv'd in *Aragon*, and defray'd the Cost of his Suit upon Charity, because they had seiz'd not only his own Estate and Revenues, but even the Church-Living of his Son *Don Gonzalo Perez*, then but a Child, who has been a Prisoner ever since he was three Years of Age, tho' so incapable of Guilt, and both his Person and Revenue were exempt from the Temporal Jurisdiction, as being Ecclesiastical. But Malice breaks through all, and human Boldness stops at nothing. I must add, that the aforesaid religious Man being reprov'd for what has been mention'd, and for some other Ex-

travagancies he deliver'd in the Pulpit, not to give them a worse Name, yet such as were lyable to the Judgment of the Inquisition, he answer'd, that he was commanded so to do. Observe what a Command and what Obedience. Nor will I forbear making it known, since it is to the Purpose in this Relation, that the Marquis de *Almenara* at the time of his Death, left orders with a grave Religious Man, who assisted and confess'd him, that Satisfaction should be made in all that related to *Anthony Perez*; yet this was prevented and obstructed by another Churchman, whom such an Action did not at all become. Sure his Soul and Conscience were able to bear greater Burdens than belong'd to his Office and Profession. I will not discover his Name out of respect to his Ecclesiastical Dignity, which cannot but give a Check to those who are rais'd to it, when they lay Stains upon its Honour; and yet the Religious Man I speak of told the whole matter and the Persons Name to some Persons of Quality in *Zaragoza*, perhaps designedly to discharge his own Conscience, for, tho' Fear may subdue the Will and Command Silence, it cannot convince the Judgment and Understanding. Time and its Effects will make known the Name I suppress, as well as those of others, who have chang'd the Name both * of Soul and Body, For as the Heaven and the Elements draw forth the Seeds and Roots from under Ground, and show

* This is supposed to be meant of some one who renounc'd his Religion.

show their Virtues, so Time and Opportunity lay open the Dispositions of Men, and the real Value of their Actions.

I come again to the Enterprize of the Delivery, *Micer Claveria*, one of the Lieutenants, *Turlan* a Deputy, *Metelin* an Alderman, came into the Prison of the *Manifestation*, with their Notaries and Maces, to give the more Colour to this Action and authorize it; and with them came the Officers of the Inquisition, and some Gentlemen and Soldiers well-arm'd. Having shut the Prison Gates, they stay'd a while in the Hall to contrive the manner of the Delivery. *Antony Perez* was sent for by the *Alcalde*, who had manag'd the Contrivance of the false Witnessess. I speak so, because there are Proccesses against him and other greater Men full of such matter. *Antony Perez* came down, and the Ceremony of delivering him was perform'd, all the Company standing. No body spoke there but the Lieutenant to this Effect, *That the Inquisitors demanded those Persons on Account of Matters relating to Faith, and that there they deliver'd them, suspending the Manifestation.* The Prisoner in a few Words answer'd, *That, what then became of his Right of Manifestation and Privilege, and his due to be heard before he was judg'd, and the Laws of God and Nature?* They reply'd, *There was no more to be done, for all possible Objections, and all legal Demurs had been already made in his and the Names of others.* This was indeed a likely Matter, if we can believe the Space of

an Hour was a sufficient Time for an Affair of that Consequence. Next they order'd *John Francis Mayorini* to come down, and the same Ceremony was perform'd with him. Both the Prisoners were fetter'd, and the Officers began to Arm themselves; one took a Head-piece and Buckler, another a Musket, and others other Weapons us'd in seizing of Prisoners, the rest of the Company came ready arm'd. This was a dreadful Sight, and certainly, so much Confusion, and such Precaution, was necessary for the Execution of a thing that was Just. They order'd the Coach to come close to the Prison to receive *Antony Perez*, and another to be brought for *John Francis Mayorini*. It is here to be observ'd, that the *Viceroy*, the first *Alderman*, the *Duke*, *Earls* and other *Gentlemen* attending, stay'd without in some Houses near the Prison, waiting for the Prisoners to be brought out, and all of them in bright Armour. Things were in this Posture when the People began to rise, but not without a Head, which was *Don Martin dela Nuga*; for he was the only Man, who seeing his Country in that Condition, I mean, going to utter Ruin, his Friend in the last Distress, and all Persons overcome by Fear and Awe; he I say, with only a Sword and Buckler, began the Work of this Day, accompany'd by a Friend since executed. He headed that disorder'd Body, he put Life into the Multitude, to offer themselves a Sacrifice in Defence of their Country,

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for their Friend, for Justice and their Liberties; they set up the Cry of *Liberty*. A number of the People attack'd the Justices Troops that were in the Market-place. *Don Martin* seeing the Town People engag'd, and Liberty contending against Oppression, withdrew, not to desist from what he had began, but to send in fresh Supplies, and Encourage others to come abroad and finish the Work. The Multitude acted vigorously; but considering, that besides the good of their Country, they had undertaken the Defence of *Antony Perez*, that there might be some Body to look to his Affairs, they sought out *Giles de Mesa*, who was absconded to avoid the Persecution of the Catholick King, and because some sought to secure him, to deprive *Antony Perez* of all the means of making his Defence. He came out and assisted, with 14 Foot-men and some Muskets. He repair'd to the Market place, where the Horse were, and the greatest number of Forces, with the Governour, who had Charge of all the warlike Affairs, relating to the Enterprize in hand. Still more and more People flock'd together, being encourag'd by the Supplies they saw come to them. The Fight continu'd some time, all the adverse Party firing from behind the Posts in the Market and the Corners of Streets; but at length the Governors Troops were put to Flight, with those of the Lords and Gentry; and *Liberty* prevail'd in all Parts. The Peoples Affection to *Giles de Mesa*, and their Obedience

Obedience to him, together with his good Management of it, were the Cause that no more Mischief was done in that Commotion. It is worth observing, that there was a regular Body of above 200 Boys, besides the Swarms of them that ran about in all Parts, with such Weapons as fitted their Age, and all of them as unanimous and orderly for the Defence of their Liberty, as the Men. A Mad-man, breaking out of the Hospital in his Fury, play'd his part, throwing Stones and was very much dreaded. So that this Action was supported even by Children and Madmen. In short, no Sex, Condition, or Age, whether Mad or Sober was exempt from having a share in that Day. Among other particulars which happen'd that Day; one was, that they kill'd the four Mules of the Coach the Prisoner was to be cary'd off in. They were four, perhaps, because they apprehended the Weight, for an Innocent Person is very ponderous to him that persecutes him; as also because it was said, that if they could compass their end in carying off the Prize, it was directly to take the way towards *Navarre*, and thence into *Castile*. Somebody hoping to Oppose the killing of the Mules, and asking wherein they were Faulty? the People answer'd, *By Heavens they should die, since they came to assist in taking away of their Liberties.*

The Governour receiv'd two Musket-shots, but without Hurt, he might thank his Armour which was Proof, or there he had ended his Days.

Days. He fled immediately, and got into a House over-against the Prison, and next to that of *Sara-sin de la Cueva*. He who had stood before the Prison of the *Manifestation* to guard *Antony Perez* with regular Forces of the King's, contrary to the general and particular Liberties and Privileges of the Kingdom of *Aragon* and of that Prison. He, whose Goods were all that were in that House, whose Cloaths and every Rag he had there and the very House itself, for having given him Shelter, was on the 24th of *May*, after *Antony Perez* had been restor'd to the Prison of the *Manifestation*, set upon by the Multitude, torn to pieces, and destroy'd, so that not a Door, nor a Shutter, nor a Chest, nor any other Thing whatsoever they could find in it was left, but what they threw out at the Windows, with unanimous Shouts of Assent, and with such Fury and Revenge, that they threw away even the Money they found in the Cloaths, as if those Garments had been infected with the Plague; for such they said it was, since it belong'd to one that had serv'd against their Liberties, as has been mention'd more particularly in the Relation of what hapned on the 24th of *May*. The Governour got into this House I speak of, and hid himself in a Stable behind some Swine, which sav'd him, because in their Search they did not see him among them. Because that House had serv'd for a Retreat to the Governor and others of the greatest Persons, and because they fir'd from thence, and kill'd three or four of the People,

People, they laid hold of all the Goods and of the Coach, whose four Mules they had before kill'd, and with it all set Fire to the House. The Lords and others, who had fled into it and other Neighbouring Houses, being distress'd by the Smoke and Fire, and much more by the Fury of the People slipt away all of them several Ways, the best they could. Some broke down Paper Walls with their own Hands, and purchas'd Assistance with Money to get away; others fled over the Tops of Houses, and some up the Chimneys. The Earl of *Morata* put himself into the Hands of a Footman belonging to *Don James de Eredia*, and begg'd he would carry him off safe, and as he went cry'd, *Let Liberty live*, lifting up his Arm, *that he vow'd to God, Antony Perez was not guilty, and that he would be a good Aragonian for the Time to come.* Thus he recanted, like a Child that is whipp'd, and being conducted to his own House in this Manner, he open'd an Escritoir and distributed some Money among those that brought him off, with abundance of humble Thanks. A certain Gentleman who was very gay, and in Armour with two curious gilt Pistols, was buffetted and hunch'd about by one of the Mobb, who disarm'd and stripp'd him, taking away his Rings he had adorn'd himself with, and so sent him away. Another private Person ran out of the aforesaid House, in that Confusion of Fire and Smoke, into the Market with a pair of Beads and a Cross in his Hands, and

and begg'd his Life of *Giles de Mesa*. He lifted up his Hand and recommended him to those that were next about him, to be sav'd, which was lucky enough; for there was not one of those who were not known to have their Swords in their Hands, in Defence of Liberty, but who from the Highest to the Lowest, to save themselves, cry'd, *Let Liberty live*. Yet there was a Difference betwixt this Day and the 24th of May, for then all cry'd so with Sincerity as the People did; nay even a Lord, whom I will not now name, sent then to encourage the Cry of Liberty, and among the Rest particularly to *Giles de Mesa*. It is likely, he was not then over-aw'd, for no Asthma choaks up and alters the Voice, more than that depraves the Sincerity of Judgment. But now on this 24th of September, they cry'd for Fear, and it did not avail some of them; for as soon as the People discover'd they were of the adverse Party, they fell upon them without Respect of Persons. Thus, among others, they kill'd *John Lewis Moreno*, one of the Deputies of the last Year, whom I mention'd at the Beginning. They tell of him, and it is well known, that when he was dying he said, *I dye justly; for such things as I have done against Antony Perez, could not be contriv'd any where but in Hell*. This is most certain, and that a just Judgment of God, the dreadful Hour, and true Discoverer of Truth. One *Peter Jerome de Bardaxi*, a Citizen and chief Counsellor of the City, and Adviser of this Execu-

Execution, was kill'd and it was he who was sent to Court by the City, to acquaint the Catholick King with what had hapned on the 24th of May. This Man ended his Days now, and was found in his Shirt in a Stable. 'Tis likely, he at that last Hour remembred how much he was in debt on the Account of *Antony Perez*. This same Man, in the ordering of this Delivering up of *Antony Perez*, talk'd very boldly and scandalously of him, which is now become among some Men, not only a Ground for Hopes, but even an Earnest of Merit to obtain Preferment.

One *John de Palamos*, a great Man, as to Stature and Person, and a Kin to some of the Kings Officers, was also kill'd. I mention his Person, because tho' he was so extreamly fat and large, that the four Mules could scarce have mov'd him, he gave such a Leap to save his Life, and avoid the fatal Stroke, that a Buck would scarce have out-done him. I will not descend to many other Particulars, which were very numerous, nor to the very mean Actions of great Men, because they are not fit to be known, even by those that were guilty of them. I only advise such, as are not more sure of their Courage, to avoid having to do on such Days as them. I will give two Instances of the contrary Effects to those I suppress, and due to the Honour of the Country, which is of so high Value that they say, *It is sweet and honourable to dye for it*. They tell us of
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an ancient Man, the Father of six or seven Sons, that he led them out to this Service, and said, he thought it not enough to expose his own Person for the Maintaining of their Liberties, but would offer up his Sons a Sacrifice to them. 'Tis likely, he had heard of the *Machabees*, and had some of their Zeal for his Country and Laws. A Woman, Mother to one of the Richest and most creditable Tradesmen in *Zaragoza*, and who had most interest among the People, his Name *Furell*, and he a Man resolute and forward in these Affairs, Marry'd and having a Young onely Son, dearly belov'd by his Parents, this Man's Mother, I say, calling him to her on Account of these Affairs, near the Hour when all broke out, said to him, *Go Son, and carry your Son my Grand-child before you; and if it be requisite, lay down both your Lives in the Quarel, and in Defence of your Country.* A plain Demonstration, that the Love of our Country is preferable to that of whatsoever else we hold Dearest. It is reckned there were 50 of *Liberty's* Enemies Kill'd, and 150 Wounded, some of whom dy'd daily. Things being now int his Posture, and *Liberty* prevailing; all the Houses and Windows about the Market and in other Streets, having been kept close shut, as if an Enemy had entred the City; or, as if they dreaded some Storm and strange Disorder in the Elements, unless it were to throw Stones and Tiles at the Adverse Party, with great Shrieks of Women and Children; on a sudden, all the
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Windows and Doors were set open, and the Houses swarm'd with People of all Conditions, in as great Security, and with such Shouts and other Tokens of Joy, as express'd some great Festival, and a publick Victory, wherein every private Person had a Share. Then instead of throwing down of Stones and broken Bars, as they did before; they sent out great Dishes of Biskets and other Refreshments and Bottles of Wine from all Parts to *Giles de Mesa*, and those that had flood by their Country, vying to exceed one another in Bounty. This proves a wonderful Unanimity, Agreement and Approbation of all Persons in general of what had been done, and the Judgment of Heaven and of Mortals in behalf of *Antony Perez*.

To come now again to the Prison, it is to be observ'd, that as soon as those Officers within perceiv'd that Affairs went so ill on their Side and Liberty prevail'd in all Parts, they began to disarm and every one ran from one Room to another, and from one Corner to another, crossing and jostling one another in the Confusion, lightning themselves of the Weight of their Armour, to make their Escape the best they could, because they saw the Multitude face towards the Prison, crying out for *Antony Perez*, and demanding to see him. The Officers intreated him to look out, to satisfy and appease the People. He refus'd a while, for Fear of some Blow, but was fain to comply. He desir'd they would first take of his Irons, which was done immediately
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by Order of the Lieutenant. As soon as he shew'd himself, there was a wonderful Shout of Joy, which was repeated every Time he appear'd, for still some who had not seen him, call'd to him to look out, and this with such extraordinary Gestures and Tokens of Joy, that no Pen can express it, nor is it possible sufficiently to acknowledge so much Goodness, and such Favour receiv'd both from Heaven and Earth. This I observe, because *Antony Perez* can never shew sufficient Gratitude for such Kindness and Protection. I have often concluded, that if Troubles and Wrongs are attended by such general Favour and Affection, and if Persecutions are follow'd by such Protection and Judgments, a Man may well covet the suffering Part, to enjoy the Satisfaction of being so supported and defended. At length, the Officers in the Prison perceiving that the People were not satisfy'd that *Antony Perez* look'd out several Times, but that they demanded him, and began to force the Gates of the Prison, they slunk away one after another, over the Tops of Houses, and thro' broken Walls, leaving him to himself; and the Turn-keys and Keepers, by Order of *Micer Claveria*, the Lieutenant, and of the Officers of the Inquisition, intreated him with Hands lifted up to Heaven, to go down, and put himself into the Hands of the People, that all who were in the Prison might not perish. *Antony Perez* positively refus'd to comply, and requir'd they should give him a solemn Certificate and Testimonial of their obliging him to it, but there

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was no proper Officer, or Notary, or any other Person, great or small, that knew what they did. The Superiors perceiving that all their Inferiors said before them, did not prevail, they came themselves bare-fac'd, and beseech'd him to deliver himself, to save them all. Then the Jaylor open'd him a Wicket, that he alone might go out, and the Multitude meet with none but him, and so their Fury might be quell'd by his Presence. And it is most certain, that the Safety of those within, and not only theirs, but of all the others without, whether Officers, or Assistants to them, of what Quality soever, and the pacifying all the City, depended only upon *Antony Perez's* going down, and that without Delay, and his appearing before the People. For it is certainly known, that had not this been done, they were resolv'd to secure the Streets from End to End, like a general Hunting, and to destroy all Principals and Abettors, from the Highest to the Lowest, that had any Hand in this Affair, which would have been an unparallell'd Slaughter, and most dreadful Example. To deliver the whole Truth of the Fact, and to shew how wonderfully God changes Things, and what Alterations he has made in the Concerns of *Antony Perez*, particularly on this Day and the 24th of *May*, we must not omit to mention, that the People would have brought a Horse for *Antony Perez* to ride, nay, they would have carry'd him on their Shoulders.

At length, *Antony Perez* was oblig'd to go down, tho' not without Apprehension, not from
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the People, for the Mind is soon settled, where it has not Cause to fear, but of some Stroke from the Prince's Flatterers. As soon as the Multitude spy'd him, they laid hold of him, not a Man offering to go a Step farther into the Prison, as having attain'd their End. Let those that are in Power consider, how small a Matter may put a Stop to great Mischiefs and Evils, since so inconsiderable a Thing appear'd such a Tumult, and did so much Good. They carry'd him from the Prison with such Shouts and Joy, as if every one of them had rescu'd his whole Family; and the Throng was so great, every one striving to be near his Person, that he could scarce breathe; and it was no small Trouble to him, for, besides the extraordinary Croud, he was very weak, and had rose out of Bed when they came for him. He went bare-headed to shew the People some Signs of Gratitude, but his Face and Head they cover'd with naked Swords and other Weapons, and all of them so cautious of hurting him, as they would have been of their own Eyes. Thus they led him thro' the Market and some Streets, all Persons blessing him, shouting, shedding Tears, making Gestures, and absolutely clearing him. He may be said to be clear'd, for the general Consent is the true Touch-stone, because one Person cannot impose upon all Men, nor all upon one; and because, considering all the Circumstances of this, and the rest of his Affairs, they cannot but have some Effect on such as fear God; and if any one be a mere Atheist, yet in Compliance with Nature, he must own, that

such an universal Agreement in all Men, must proceed from some superior Power. They put him into the House of *Don James de Eredia*, where the People still made him look out at the Windows every Moment, with the same repeated Acclamations of Joy. Never was a perfect Bag of Bones so much coveted to be seen. When he was there, the People set up a Cry, that *John Francis Mayorini* remain'd in the Prison, that they must go for him. They mov'd that Way immediately, and enter'd the Goal, where they found neither Goaler, nor Turn-key, but broke open the Place where he was, took him out, and with him some other Prisoners; perhaps it was to betoken the Authority that so unanimously led a whole Multitude. *The Lord looseth the Prisoners*, Psal. 146. v. 7.

Towards the Evening, the Clergy of the Church of *St. Paul*, came out with the blessed Sacrament, and so did the Fryers of both Monasteries of *St. Francis*, with Crosses and other Instruments of Devotion, crying out to God, *Peace, Lord; Mercy, Lord God*. And tho' on all Days we ought to have Recourse and call upon God, yet that more particularly was a terrible and dreadful Day, for besides all the Hurly-burly and Commotion below, there was another above, that is, such a Rain, and such a large and furious Shower of Hail, as might strike a Terror into Men, since it frightened the very Beasts. I say so, because I was told by one, that a very good Horse he was on that Day abroad in the Country, stood in such a Consternation, that

that he could not make him move either backwards or forwards. And yet we Men will go on, and contend with Heaven, and oblige it to give us greater Testimonies of its Displeasure. God grant I prove a false Prophet.

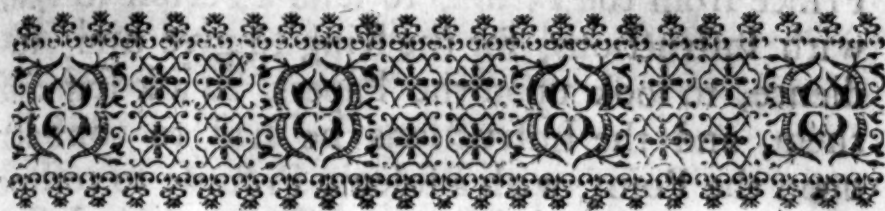
All Things being in this Posture, and none to quench or allay that Heat, because there was no opposing the Current, the People began to quell of themselves. It is here to be observ'd, that in this great Fury and Commotion, no Person was in Danger, no House, no Goods, no Monastery, no private Enemy, but only those that were against their Liberty and Privileges. This was an extraordinary Demonstration of the Loyalty and Justice of the *Aragonian* People; for I do not know what People we can ever read of, that has been so moderate and orderly, when come to such a Height.

If this Relation has exceeded its Bounds in some Particulars, it may be pardon'd, in regard that some Things cannot be related, without reflecting on the wonderful Accidents that have befallen this Man. And as yet we know not whether they are at an End; or, as a grave religious Man in *Saragossa* us'd to say, with much Amazement, *Can we tell what divine Providence aims at in permitting so much Injustice and Cruelty, so many Frauds, Combinations, Injuries, and Wrongs, and so much Scandal and Slaughter!* There have been unusual, violent, shameful, and sudden Deaths. Men have gone to Bed in Health, and been found dead in the Morning. These are Preludes Heaven uses to act before some hea-

vy Judgment, and permits them to denote whose Justice it is, for a Comfort to those that are wrong'd, for a Warning to him that holds the Scepter, and is entrusted with Justice, and to justify its own Judgments, if Heaven stands in need of any Vindication, and the Earth does not prevent it. Time will clear all, and those who will observe what shall follow hereafter, may hear, see, and judge.



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The fatal Effects of Arbitrary Power.

B O O K III.

Anthony Perez to all Men.



THE following Memorial, which is the same that *Anthony Perez* deliver'd at his Tryal in *Aragon*, and was call'd *Librillo*, or the little Book, will demonstrate how real he was in all he alledg'd, since he spoke with that Freedom and Security, when a Prisoner, brought to Tryal, and prosecuted by his own King, before a Court, which, tho' sovereign, began to be aw'd by the Prince; and what is yet more, since he dealt so frankly with his King by Letters, and by third Persons, For, to plead before a Court,

is only natural Defence, but to write to one's Prince from the Prison, to send a Person to him with Instructions, for the King to give him Audience, to look upon the Papers, to ask some of them, and the Instructions he had to consider upon the Point, with a solemn Promise to restore them, all which is Matter of Fact; this, I say, is the greatest Evidence that has ever been known of a Subject's great Merit, of his great Intimacy with his King, and a mighty Testimonial to clear the Subject, and to lay the Crime, I will not say on the Prince, but at least on those that advis'd him to commence such a Suit against his Servant. Let it be read with Attention, it is my Request, and pardon me, that I do not rectify in these Relations those Places where one Thing is twice repeated; for such Truths, and such Examples, will bear reading more than once, and will serve for Counsels and Warnings; of which none better than what is taken by the Experience of others, because in Cases which are rare, one single Instance makes Experience.



T H E
M E M O R I A L

Which Antony Perez presented in his Vindication, &c. divided into three Parts.

P A R T I.

Very illustrious Lords,

Notwithstanding that *Antony Perez*, in his written Vindication he deliver'd in, has express'd some Part of the Trouble and Affliction it is to him, to be oblig'd to make his Defence by producing those few Vouchers, which thro' good Fortune and God's special Mercy, he has so accidentally lighted on, after that Surprize, and general seizing of all his Papers, so well known to all the World; yet this Grief and Concern lying so heavy upon him, as may plainly appear by his unparallel'd Patience and Silence during eleven Years, which his Majesty's Ministers could never believe in all that Time; he is not satisfy'd with what he there said to justify himself in this Particular, concerning the Application he made from *Calatayud* to his Majesty,

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sty, to his Confessor, and to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, at his first coming out of *Castile*, into this Kingdom of *Aragon*, and since from *La Muela* to his Majesty, the same Day he was brought Prisoner into this City of *Saragoza*, and after that again, on the 7th and 10th of *May*, to the aforesaid Confessor, and then lastly, and more particularly, *Antony Perez*, supposing that he was not believ'd, by Means of the Father Prior of *Gotor* sending him to the King, as his last Effort, fully satisfy'd by another Information, of the Reality of those Vouchers he had to produce for his own Defence: I say, he has not been satisfy'd with all this, but has resolv'd to present true Copies of all the aforesaid Letters and Dispatches, that he may not only discharge his Duty in discovering of Matters of such Consequence, but that it may appear to the World he has done so; because his only urging or saying, that he had made Application to his Majesty, would not convince the World in how particular a Manner he did it; and the Papers themselves appearing, besides the Testimony of so much Fidelity and Secrecy, and so many Years Sufferings, will demonstrate, that *Antony Perez* omitted nothing that could possibly be done in discharge of his Duty, before he would be brought to do as he has done.

Here follow Copies of the Letters above-mention'd, concerning the Application made by *Antony Perez* to his Majesty, to his Confessor, and to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, since his coming into this Kingdom of *Aragon*, and before he made his Defence.

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The Copy of a Letter from Antony Perez to his Majesty, from St. Peter Martyr at Calatayud, April 24, 1590.

S I R,

PErceiving, after so many Tears, how tedious my Imprisonment was like to be, and the Cruelty of some Ministers, or of Envy itself, tho' I could have nothing in me worthy of so much Suffering; and that there was no Sign that my Cause and Miseries were likely to have any other End, but with my Life, when all Things end; and that the Ministers of State had so manag'd it, that I could not defend myself, nor the Honour of my Fore fathers, my Children, and my own, which every Man is oblig'd to by the Laws of God and Nature; I resolv'd to do as I have done, and to come away into this Kingdom of your Majesty's, the native Country of my Parents and Predecessors; for in it your Majesty shall be as absolute Master of me, as in the midst of the strongest Bolts and Fetters; and I shall be as obedient to your Royal Will, as the Clay is in the Potter's Hand; whereof I have given sufficient Proof and Demonstration by my Long-Sufferings, always reposing my Hopes on your Majesty, on your Christianity and Mercy, and in the Conviction there is in your Royal Breast of my Innocence; for to this Name and Qualification alone I now reduce all my small Services and Acts of Fidelity, tho' in another more fortunate Person they might

might be accounted Merits, and deserve otherwise than I have found. I humbly beseech your Majesty, since you are so well convinc'd of this Truth, and are satisfy'd of the Partiality of some Ministers, or some one in particular, by their Proposals and Contrivances, that your Majesty will give Credit to the Delivery and Resignation I here make of my self, to your Obedience and Royal Will in all Points; and that you will not permit the Malice of those I mean, to prevail any longer to the Dishonour of your Christian Name, to the Detriment of your Service, and to the Terror of your faithful Subjects. I also entreat your Majesty will be pleas'd, in your great Goodness, to order Care to be taken of the Women, Children, and Grand-children of Loyal Parents and Ancestors, and try'd by your Majesty; and that your Majesty will be pleas'd to allow us to live in some Corner, wheresoever your Majesty shall think fit; where, if we are good for nothing else, we shall pray to God for your Majesty's long Life and Prosperity; which may be grant in all Fulness, as is for the Advantage of Christendom. From St. Peter Martyr in Calatayud, April the 24th, 1590.

The Copy of a Letter from *Antony Perez*,
for his Majesty's Confessor, from *Calatayud*, April 24, 1590.

TH E Copy of the Letter I write to his Majesty, will acquaint your Reverence with what I could say to you in this, and with the many Reasons that have mov'd me to do as I have done; but above all, you will be convinc'd of the whole, by those Truths which are lodg'd in your Christian Breast, of which nor any other Argument, I do not design to make any Advantage, but only to rely on your Reverence's Conscience and Assistance. I beseech you not to suffer any farther Severities to be us'd towards me; for so that be allow'd, and that I may be here in some obscure Place, with my Wife and Children, I shall desire no farther Satisfaction nor Justification, but some Mark of his Majesty's Favour, in such Form as he shall think fit: As for Instance, a Certificate of my faithful Service; because my own, my Parents, and my Childrens Honour depends on it. I will not mention my tedious and miserable Sufferings, for I shall find a daily Satisfaction in them, which is, that I have endur'd them for the Service of my Sovereign, and my Loyalty to him. God preserve, &c.

The Copy of a Letter from Antony Perez to the Cardinal of Toledo, April 22, 1590.

Most Illustrious Lord,

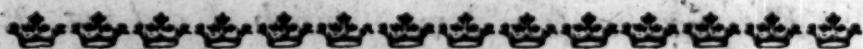
I Send your most illustrious Lordship, together with this, a Copy of the Letter I write to the King, which will give you as much Satisfaction as I could do here concerning the Reasons that have induc'd me to do as I have done. I beseech you, that since they cannot but be look'd upon as agreeable to natural Reason by a Person of your Piety and Integrity, you will stand up for me, and for my Wife and Children, and protect us according to your Post and Authority, that the Malice and Envy of some Ministers (which might well be tir'd, since it has left us nothing but our Bones) may not proceed any farther against us, to the Dishonour of his Majesty's Christianity, the Detriment of his Royal Service, and the Terror of loyal Subjects; for I shall be so satisfy'd with being permitted to live obscurely with my Wife and Children, making an Offering to God of what I have suffer'd, blessing him for it, and praying to God for his Majesty. God preserve, &c.

The Copy of a Letter from Antony Perez
to his Majesty, from la Muela, May 1,
1590,

S I R,

THAT Duty which obliges me to your Majesty's Service, and my innate Loyalty and Affection to it, oblige me always to acquaint you with what I think expedient. I gave your Majesty an Account of my Arrival in this Kingdom, and of the Reason of my coming hither, which is to remove from the Malice of some Ministers, who have wrong'd me; but still, with the same entire Submission and Obedience to your Majesty's Will, I have always practis'd. I came with a Design to keep retir'd in some Monastery, but in publick, 'till I had given your Majesty an Account of my self, and of this my Intention; for even this I thought due to the Respect and Obedience I owe your Majesty and your Royal Service, 'till the Justice of this Kingdom has seiz'd me, which I did not at all shun, and therefore am now carry'd a Prisoner, yet more concern'd for your Majesty's Service than for my self. I have only endeavour'd to preserve the Right of Sanctuary, for as much as it is a natural Defence, and, in Truth, Sir, to have some Way to evade the Charge laid here as the Cause of my Imprisonment, which is the Thing that moves me to give your Majesty this Information. Sir, the Reason alledg'd, is the Death of Escovedo, giving out, that I caus'd Garzia de Arze, and others,
to

to kill him; and adding moreover, that I wrongfully made Use of your Majesty's Name in it; and thirdly, that I have broke Prison. Your Majesty may please to consider, whether it be for your Royal Service, that such Affairs be brought into open Court; for by the Words and Manner of the Charge, I perceive it cannot be done by your Majesty's Order. If it be better that I plead Sanctuary, tho' that will make me look like a Criminal, yet I will bear with all Things, as I have hitherto done, so it be for your Majesty's Service; and there I may afterwards wait your Majesty's Pleasure in all Obedience, well pleas'd that your Service be rightly perform'd, and well assur'd that your Majesty will protect and look upon me with your Clemency, and will remember my Services and Loyalty, as may be hop'd from your Majesty's Grandeur and Goodness. I again intreat your Majesty for my Wife and Children, and that in your great Mercy you will permit me to enjoy and bear them Company. God preserve, &c.



The Copy of a Letter from Antony Perez
to his Majesty's Confessor, May 8. 1590.

I Writ from Calatayud to acquaint your Reverence with my coming into this Kingdom, and the Cause of it, which was to remove from the Malice of Ministers who have much wrong'd me, but still with the same Obedience, and entire Submission

mission to his Majesty's Will I have always pra-
 ctis'd. It is a Comfort to me to understand that
 my Letter was deliver'd to your Reverence, as
 also that I writ to the King. I have since writ
 to him, a second Time, giving him an Account, as
 I have done at other Times, of what has since oc-
 curr'd, because I thought it was for his Royal Ser-
 vice; and for the same Reason have resolv'd to
 acquaint your Reverence with it, and with the
 rest I shall here add, for your Reverence to in-
 form him of it. Sir, I came with a Design to con-
 tinue retir'd in some particular Place or Monastery,
 yet publick, 'till I had given his Majesty an Ac-
 count of myself, because I found this Way agree-
 able to the Respect and Obedience due to his Ma-
 jesty, and to his Royal Service. In the mean
 while it has happen'd, that the Justice of this
 Kingdom has seiz'd me, which I did no way avoid.
 Thus have I been brought Prisoner to this Goal of
 the Manifestation, where I now remain. The
 Pretence made use of for imprisoning me, has been
 the Death of Escovedo, saying, that I caus'd
 Garzia de Arze, and others, to kill him; and they
 add that it was done deceitfully, telling them his
 Majesty commanded it. Since then, the Charge a-
 gainst me has been laid more particular, and they
 have added, that I have not been faithful in the
 Office of Secretary, and that I decipher'd Letters
 falsly. By the very Words and Contrivance of it,
 I perceive it cannot be done * by his Majesty's Or-
 der,

R

der,

* Because the King knew who kill'd Escovedo, and that Garzia de
 Arze had no Hand in it. James Mortinez, an Aragonian, and
 Steward to Anthony Perez, was above four Years in Prison for the
 same,

der, nor with your Reverence's Knowledge; but that this Colour and Pretence has been made use of for my Imprisonment, which is so much against their Consciences, and with so much Wrong to the Dead, and to innocent Persons Living. These Things are now drawn up on the 7th of May, and I have already examin'd them, and answer'd, That as to the Murder, it is false, and the same as to that which concerns my Fidelity, and my being so charg'd; for I have been so far from it, that I have serv'd my Sovereign Lord the King very loyally, as his Majesty well knows, and can very well testify for me. Your Reverence will do well to consider this seriously, and whether it be convenient for his Majesty's Service, and many other Reasons, that such Things be brought into Court.

I desire your Reverence, to this Effect, to remember the first Night I was taken up eleven Years ago, and what Reason and Colour was then shew'd for it, under his Majesty's Hand. The many Sufferings and Troubles gone thro' by myself, my Wife, and Children, with the Detriment to my Honour and Estate, without any legal Prosecution or Defence. The proceeding against me by Inquest. The Order your Reverence sent me, not to clear myself by Papers under his Majesty's Hand. The delivering of my Papers up and Vouchers to you, without my having made any use of them in my own Defence, in Obedience to your Reverence, and because I understood his Ma-

same, and clear'd, tho' in reality he was one of those that kill'd him; but they only sought after Anthony Perez, and not tho' that executed it.

jesty was pleas'd it should be so. The Letter your
 Reverence writ from Monçon to my Wife Donna
 Joanna, acquainting her that they were in your
 Custody, and that not a Scrip of them should be
 missing, (for so your Reverence expresses it) and
 that no-body should see them. Remember that
 they have been open'd and read, without my being
 present, and that by a * Minister who is my Enemy,
 tho' they are my proper Defence and Vouchers; and
 that your Reverence has told several Persons, at
 several Times, that, if it were requisite, you
 would restore them to me, and would proclaim it
 in the Market-Place. Remember, that the two
 last Things charg'd upon me at the Inquest, were
 to the same Effect, and in the same Words, as
 they are now laid; so that I certainly believe they
 were copy'd from thence to make up the Heap.
 Remember, that I was then too severely condemn'd,
 without making any Defence, in Obedience to your
 Reverence, tho' I could very well have justify'd
 and clear'd myself. Remember, that among the
 Papers, there were very good Proofs and Vouch-
 ers in my Behalf, in relation to the Death of
 Escovedo, and the Causes of it. Remember, Sir,
 how I was handled afterwards, in the Charge
 brought against me by Roderick Vasquez, last
 September, and how the Information was shewn to
 my Lawyers. Remember, Sir, the Letters you
 writ to me from the Escorial, when Things were
 in this Posture, that your Reverence seeing my
 Answers to the Letters you writ, advis'd me to
 own the Murder, which would put an End to all

my Troubles, since it was the Ground and Occasion of them all: I say, your Reverence, seeing what I answer'd to it, and the Method I propos'd, as easier, and more convenient in all Respects, and for his Majesty's Service, allow'd of, and was satisfy'd with it, and, by your Approbation, the Matter was made up, which cost me as much as your Reverence well knows, yet to my great Satisfaction. Remember also, that then, in the second Letter you wrote to me, you order'd, that when I came to confess the Murder, I should not by any Means discover the Causes of it; and that thereupon Roderick Vazquez contriv'd that I should be examin'd as to the Motives there were for that Action, because his Majesty's Honour was concern'd. A very dangerous Advice, dishonourable to the King, and a Discouragement to his loyal Subjects. Remember, Sir, that on the Day I was rack'd, I sent you a Copy of the said second Letter, by Giles de Mesa, to shew how wrongfully I was cruelly press'd in that Point, when I had such an Order and Testimonial from your Reverence, his Majesty's Confessor; and then consider, whether, tho' they shew'd me Orders under the King's own Hand to discover the said Motives, whilst I did not see the other strict Order to the contrary recall'd, which will appear by your Reverence's Letters, consider, I say, whether I was not oblig'd in Conscience, Loyalty, and natural Reason, to keep the Secret; for the Angel Raphael, Tob. 12. 7. says, It is good to keep close the Secrets of the King; and whether I did my Duty in this Particular, and did not approve myself a loyal Subject and

Servant

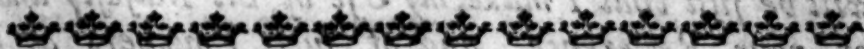
Servant to my King? Besides all this, your Reverence may, in your great Christian Prudence, consider, whether it can be proper, that such Affairs be, on any Account, expos'd in Court; and how much you are oblig'd, for so many Reasons, and for your Conscience and Honour's Sake, to take care of my Defence, and what I am to do and answer for myself, when put upon such a severe Tryal. I say, your Reverence, forasmuch as his Majesty's Service is concern'd, may consider what Course is to be taken in this Affair, as it now stands; for my Fidelity and Affection to his Majesty's Service being so deeply ingrafted in me, I am ready to embrace any Method that shall be most proper to manage this right. And your Reverence may deliberate, whether it be not better, that I be not oblige to discharge or justify myself with such Vouchers as I speak of, and the Right they give me, but that the Cause be decided, and I clear'd, for want of proving the said Allegations against me, that so my Honour may be satisfy'd by this Judgment; for tho' it were better for me that it were manag'd otherwise, I will prefer his Majesty's Service before all Things, and be contented to leave the rest of the Satisfaction to his Majesty. Or whether it will be convenient that I make use of the Privelege of Sanctuary; for tho' it will make me look like a Criminal, I will submit to all, as I have hitherto done, for the aforesaid Reason. But I must advise your Reverence not to delay your Answer, and putting a Stop to this Business, because, if the Proceedings advance any farther; the Difficulty will be greater; and I understand,

that in these Courts Processes cannot be conceal'd. And your Reverence may believe me, since hitherto I have not been credited, to the great detriment of his Majesty's Service; God forgive him who is the Cause that so much Scandal and Trouble has not been prevented; that if after the Composition made, the usual Method in such Affairs had been follow'd, all the Inconveniences I speak of had been avoided. I beseech your Reverence, that you will not permit the aforesaid Minister to sit upon the Concerns of my innocent Wife and Children, nor upon any thing that concerns me, since you know and have been inform'd by * Persons of Worth, that he is my Enemy. I farther beseech your Reverence, since I tender you such an entire Submission to his Majesty's Will, and such a sincere Intention, free from any other Design, than to be remov'd from the Malice of that Minister, and to rest after so many Storms and Sufferings; that you will not permit any more Severity to be us'd; but that I may have so much Christian Compassion shewn me, as to be suffer'd to live in Obscurity with my Wife and Children, whilst I shall not be fit to ply an Oar in his Majesty's Service; for if I can be of use to that, it is most certain I will prefer his Majesty's Pleasure and Commands before all Things in this World. This is the Truth, and all the rest meer Inventions of Malice and Envy, to add Troubles to Troubles;

an

* The Cardinal of Toledo, and the Regent Leon, who heard *Roderick Puzos* talk lavishly in Council against *Antony Perez*, and among the rest say, that the Princess of Eboli had given him above a Million.

*an Offence against God, Disservice to his Majesty,
and a Scandal to all Men. God preserve, &c.
Saragoza, May 9. 1590.*



*The Copy of a Letter from Antony Perez,
to his Majesty's Confessor, May 10.
1590.*

*Since my writing that which I send together
with this, I have been acquainted with the
Form of the Commission that is come from his Ma-
jesty, which, they say, is for charging me with
Murder and Treason; and I have this Day been
examin'd a second Time, after another Manner;
which, I suppose, is because they have receiv'd
from thence an Account of the Form of my being
there charg'd in the Name of Escovedo, with his
Father's Death; and yet, at the same Time,
they keep up the first Charge against me. Most
reverend Sir, if all this is done to give a Colour
to my Imprisonment, for God's sake, let not evil
Counsellors impose upon his Majesty, under my
Shadow; for there is no need of using Methods so
pernicious to his Majesty's Service, and so incon-
venient for the compassing of what is so sure and
easy, since his Majesty's Will and my Obedience
are the strongest Chains to bind me: Let his Ma-
jesty but try, if past Tryals are not sufficient, and
he will find this his Servant has no Will of his
own, and he will prevent the Inconveniencies I*

mention, and the bringing those Affairs before a Court. It troubles me that Power should enter such a Prosecution. I give your Reverence Notice of it, because, if it comes to the Point, it will be just that I make my Use of his Majesty and of your Reverence, and of such Vouchers as I have of my own; for tho' the Malice of some Ministers may have prevail'd with his Majesty to permit such Things to be done, which are an Affront to him, to Truth, and to his Conscience; for the same Reason he will vouchsafe to vindicate me in the Truth, and to allow me to make use of what is requisite for my Defence, which, tho' it be apply'd to that Effect, will grieve me to the Soul; forasmuch as it concerns his Majesty's Service, which I have ever preferr'd before myself, as appears by the Sufferings I have gone thro' with so much Fidelity, Patience, and Silence. Your Reverence will be pleas'd not to neglect applying some Remedy, and not to forget, as you have done sometimes thro' your Multiplicity of Business; for a small Delay will cause the Remedy to come too late, and your Reverence will be accountable for the Damage, as being the prime Manager, and Person acquainted with these Secrets, since my first Imprisonment. Having made this Application to your Reverence, I shall rest satisfy'd, as if I had done it to the King, having writ to him a second time from la Muela, on the first of this Month, and wishing that this Affair may be rightly manag'd. God preserve your Reverence. Saragoza, May 10, 1590.

The Copy of a Letter from *Antony Perez*
to his Majesty.

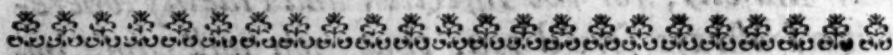
S I R,

I Have given your Majesty an Account, in two Letters, of the Reason of my departing Castile, and coming into this Kingdom, and have since acquainted your Majesty's Confessor with some other Things more particularly, as in Duty bound to your Royal Service; and tho' I suppose he, as oblig'd, has inform'd your Majesty of all these Affairs, yet, this Proceſs being very forward, and there being a Neceſſity of making an effectual Defence, because the Honour of my Parents and Children, and my own, lies at Stake, I have resolv'd again to advertiſe your Majesty of as much as I think is very requiſite. And because these Affairs are of ſuch a Nature as they are, I have endeavour'd not to commit your Majesty's Information in them to Writing only, as alſo that your Majesty may receive more ample Satisfaction, viva Voce, I have therefore deſir'd the Earl of Morata, as a Perſon of Quality, and much reſpected in this Kingdom, and with whoſe Parents and himſelf my Father had an intimate Friendſhip, that he would recommend to me ſome Perſon of Piety and Prudence, whom I might intruſt with ſuch a Commiſſion. The Perſon he has aſſign'd me for this Purpoſe is the Father-Prior of Gotor, who he is very particularly acquainted with, upon the Secrecy of

of a Priest, and has been an Eye-witness of what Papers I have to clear my self, which I have found among other Papers and Things of mine, sav'd by my Servants, amidst the Searches made in my House by Officers of Justice these last Years ; and is satisfy'd how full they are of many Trusts and Secrets, which relate not only to this Affair, but also to many others of the highest Consequence, and to Persons of the greatest Note, your Majesty's Subjects. I beg your Majesty will be pleas'd to bear him, for as much as it concerns your Royal Service, and the Honour of your Affairs, which have pass'd through my Hands, and I have been entrusted with ; and so your Majesty will be satisfy'd, that I did not so often advise your Majesty long since to follow some other Method and Expedient in this Business, than what has been taken for Want of Evidence to make out my Justice ; for had all the rest fail'd, your Majesty was still Witness and Judge of it ; but that being conscious of the mighty Secrets and Misteries of this Cause, I did it to prevent the evil Consequences and great Scandal of making such Things publick. And tho' it is possible that some Men, for some private Ends, may, without any ill Intention, have advis'd your Majesty, that it was convenient to declare how Escovedo came to be kill'd, as your Majesty writ to me in two Letters it must be done, yet I cannot tell whether he means so well, who has advis'd, that the Causes which mov'd your Majesty so to do, should be brought into Court and publick Examination. As to the first Part at least, I know that your Majesty's Confessor then approv'd
of

of the Method I propos'd of Composition, to get clear of the matter of the Murder; and therefore I also believe, that since the said Resolution, tho' of such Consequence, was so easily alter'd, there must be some particular Malice in him who afterwards advis'd the bringing of those Causes into Court; designing perhaps that Way to bring new Delays to the Course of Justice, and the putting an End to my Troubles; and that having taken away my Papers, and demanded of my Wife those that were of more Secrecy betwixt your Majesty and me, I should have no Defence left, my Justice would be stifled, and all I urg'd would be look'd upon for the future as a mere Falshood, as the said Minister said and writ to your Majesty. I beseech your Majesty, for the Affection and Fidelity wherewith I always serv'd you, that you will cause impartial Persons to consider this Case well; and whether it is convenient to produce in Court such Papers of your Majesty's, such Letters of the Confessors, and such Variety of Proceedings and Measures, as have been made Use of in this Case, and against his Person; but that the Resolution and Redress may not be delay'd, because the Time of clearing my self will come on; which, by the Law of God and Nature cannot be neglected, when the Honour of so many innocent Persons is concern'd. I also humbly beseech your Majesty, for your own and your Royal Honour's Sake, in your great Prudence, to take heed you are not misled by evil Councils under Shew of securing me; for there is no Need of taking such costly, such dishonourable and scandalous Measures, for the compassing of
what

what is so secure and easy; since your Majesty's Will and Commands will be sufficient Fetters and Chains, as I have often said, to oblige me to live in any Corner of this Kingdom your Majesty shall direct and appoint me, whilst I shall be incapable of serving you; and that your Majesty will be pleas'd to order I may have my Wife and Children, that they may live with me, and we may all rest a-while from so many Storms and Sufferings; for in so doing, your Majesty will perform an Act worthy your great Goodness, and acceptable in the Sight of God and Man. God preserve your Majesty's Person, and grant you a Life as long as is convenient for the Good of Christendom. Saragoza, June 10, 1590.



The Copy of a Letter from Antony Perez to his Majesty's Confessor.

Seeing now the Time of making my Defence in this Court, before which I am brought, draws near, and that I have no Answer to any Thing of all I have writ to your Reverence, I have resolv'd to make this last Application to his Majesty, and to your Reverence, that no Proof of my Fidelity may be wanting; and because by what I write to his Majesty, whereof I send a Copy with this, and by what your Reverence will hear from the Father-Prior of Gotor, you will discover many Truths, which I will not repeat in this; nor will I importune

tune your Reverence, entreating you to consider it all seriously, since the Thing it self will shew how much it concerns the Service of God, and of his Majesty, and your Reverences own Honour, whose most reverend Person, &c. Saragoza, June 10, 1590.

The Copy of a Letter from Antony Perez to the Cardinal of Toledo.

Most Illustrious Lord,

HIS Majesty's Service, and the Respect I owe him, being so deeply rooted in my Heart, tho' I be never so hard press'd, I cannot forbear making the utmost Efforts to give Testimony thereof. And tho', since my coming into this Kingdom, I have acquainted his Majesty and his Confessor with what I thought was requisite, yet, seeing no Order is taken in Affairs of that Consequence, and that the Day on which I am to make my Defence draws on apace, when the Honour of my Parents, and Children, and my own, will lye at Stake, which, by the Law of God and Nature, I can not abandon, I have resolv'd to make the last Application to his Majesty and his Confessor, by means of the Father-Prior of Gotor, as your most illustrious Lordship will understand by him, and by the Copy of the Letter I write to his Majesty, which goes along with this. I beseech your most illustrious Lordship, to hear him with that Favour and Goodwill you have always shewn to my Affairs, and in my Sufferings. And tho' I am oblig'd, on this Account,

count, to acquaint you with all Things, yet there is another particular Reason which obliges me to inform you in this Business, which, is its being of such great Consequence, and your most illustrious Lordship in such an eminent Station; as also that it concerns the Service of God and his Majesty, God preserve, &c. Saragoza, June 10, 1590.



Instructions given to the Father-Prior of Gotor, June 10, 1590.

‘ **W** H E N your Reverence comes to Madrid, you may safely communicate the
 ‘ full Purport of your Commission to the Father-
 ‘ Prior of *Our Lady of Atocha*, upon the Secre-
 ‘ cy of a Priest; because, besides his being a
 ‘ Person of such Piety and Religion, he has
 ‘ some Knowledge of my Sufferings, and much
 ‘ Compassion for them. In the next Place, and
 ‘ with his Privacy and Assistance, or such Means
 ‘ as he shall appoint your Reverence, you shall
 ‘ speak to his Majesty’s Confessor, and deliver
 ‘ him my Letter you have for him, with the
 ‘ Copy of that I write to his Majesty. By
 ‘ which Letters, and by what your Reverence
 ‘ shall say to him, in Pursuance of them and o-
 ‘ ther Things you are acquainted with, his Re-
 ‘ verence will understand the Cause that has
 ‘ mov’d me to give your Reverence the Trouble
 ‘ of this Journey and Commission, which is on-
 ‘ ly

ly Fidelity to his Majesty's Service, and a due Respect to the Honour of his Affairs, and to his Reverence.

I have done thus much, tho' it is not to be believ'd that the Confession will obstruct making an Application to his Majesty, which so much concerns his Service, and is so much for my Vindication and Defence, and for the preventing of so many Inconveniencies. However, if it should otherwise fall out, your Reverence is directed by all Means to endeavour to make the said Application to his Majesty, and not to rest satisfy'd with being told that they will give his Majesty an Account of all things, and so you may save giving of him a Trouble; because the Success of this Commission depends upon his Majesty's hearing those Truths I have told and shew'd you from your Reverence's own Mouth. And therefore I charge and beseech your Reverence, by no Means to omit making this Application to his Majesty in Person, the Substance whereof is what is contain'd in the Letter I write to him, which consists of two Points; the one, that he may be convinc'd of my Fidelity, in forbearing to clear my self, 'till I have given him an Account of the Vouchers I have for my Justification; the other, to intreat him, that he will not permit such scandalous Methods, and so dishonourable to his Justice, to be made Use of, to compass that which may be so easily and surely done with the least Token, much more a Command of his, which is my residing and taking up my
 Rest

Rest in whatsoever Place or Corner his Majesty shall be pleas'd to appoint me in this Kingdom.

To this Purpose, your Reverence will please to be advertis'd, to certify what you know about my coming to *Calatayud*, and what you saw there happen; and to justify the Sincerity of my Intention, and that, if I would, I could have avoided being made Prisoner, and have got out of the Kingdom, having sufficient Time and Opportunity. And that since this is so, and so well known in this Kingdom, and the Kingdom has writ to that Effect to his Majesty, he will be pleas'd rather to give Credit to such real Proofs, than to those Shadows which Envy raises against me. To the end your Reverence may remember the Information I have given, and the Papers I have shew'd you, I have deliver'd you a *Memorandum, on which all this Affair depends, with a List of the Papers I have laid before you relating to each Particular; and besides that, I will here sum up the Matter under some Heads. Your Reverence already knows the Allegations laid against me, which are,

1. The murdering of *Escovedo* basely, on Pretence that his Majesty commanded it, when in Reality it was not so.

2. Having discover'd the Secrets of Secretary of State to several Persons; and that in the

* It contains the same as the second Part of this Memorial.

‘ the Dispatches which came to his Majesty in
 ‘ Cyphers, I added and diminish’d, as I thought
 ‘ fit, and writ as much to the Secretary *Escove-*
 ‘ *do*, as will appear by my Letters to him.

‘ 3. My Escape, aggravating it, by urging
 ‘ that I attempted it several Times before. As
 ‘ to this Point, I own, in the first Place, there
 ‘ is little to be said; for it plainly appears I
 ‘ came away; and I have writ his Majesty the
 ‘ Reason of it, which was, That after eleven
 ‘ Years, and so many Imprisonments, Oppressi-
 ‘ ons and Calamities, and after being brought to
 ‘ so many Tryals, without coming to an End
 ‘ with any of them, I was so miserably put up-
 ‘ on a Rack, and that by a Judge who was my
 ‘ Enemy, partial, and excepted against, and
 ‘ the Fear I might justly conceive, that those
 ‘ Ministers who us’d me so ill, and had again en-
 ‘ tangled my Cause, must needs design to stifle
 ‘ my Justice, and put an End to my Life, and
 ‘ to the Honour of my Parents and Children,
 ‘ with notorious Wrong to his Majesty’s Good-
 ‘ ness and Justice.

To the first Point.

‘ As to the first Point, besides that there is a
 ‘ Pardon of the Party, as is evident, your Reve-
 ‘ rence has had ocular Proof that the Compositi-
 ‘ on was made with the Knowledge of his Maje-
 ‘ sty’s Confessor.

‘ You have seen his Reverence the Confessor’s
 ‘ Letters, under his own Hand, wherein he ad-

' vifes me to own the killing of *Escovedo*, and by
 ' whose Order it was done, without mentioning
 ' the Causes there were for it. Which two
 ' Letters, tho' there were no other Testimonials,
 ' are a sufficient Discharge for all that can re-
 ' late to the Murder, or Causes of it. Your
 ' Reverence has Copies of them, for your bet-
 ' ter Information.

' Besides, you have seen several Billets of
 ' mine to his Majesty, answer'd by his own
 ' Hand, concerning this Murder, and many o-
 ' ther Particulars relating to it.

' You have also seen several Notes, contain-
 ' ing his Majesty's Concern for the over-much
 ' Liberty and Boldness of the said *John de Escove-*
 ' *vedo*, before his Death.

' You have seen how, after *Escovedo* came in-
 ' to the Service of *Don John*, there was a Dis-
 ' covery of the Negotiations began whilst he was
 ' in *Italy*, and were carry'd on afterwards in *Flan-*
 ' *ders*, about the Design upon *England*. All this,
 ' by Papers of mine to his Majesty, answer'd
 ' with his own Hand, and by Minutes under my
 ' Hand of Letters to *Don John* and *Escovedo*,
 ' wherein these same Negotiations are treated
 ' of) and I reprove *Escovedo* for not sending
 ' Intelligence of it hither) all of them noted in
 ' the Margin by the King's own Hand.

' Your Reverence has seen several Papers,
 ' shewing how I gave his Majesty an Account of
 ' what pass'd between me and the Nuncio in re-
 ' lation to this Affair, and of what they writ to
 ' me, and what I answer'd to the Purpose, and of

the

' the new earnest Desire they conceiv'd of lea-
 ' ving the *Low-Countries*, because the Design on
 ' *England* did not proceed; and to come into
 ' *Spain*, or to go into *France* with Forces, that
 ' they might get away by that or any other
 ' Contrivance. And you have seen more parti-
 ' cularly to this Purpose, some Letters in Cyphers,
 ' and decypher'd and sign'd by *Don John* and *Es-*
 ' *covedo*, wherein they press hard upon the Bu-
 ' siness. Your Reverence has seen how *Escove-*
 ' *do* came into *Spain* on a sudden, after he had
 ' been writ to not to do so by any means; and
 ' how much his Majesty was displeas'd at it, as
 ' is exprefs'd under his Royal Hand, upon a
 ' Letter from *Escovedo* for me.

To the second Point.

' Your Reverence has seen several Letters de-
 ' cipher'd, and noted on the Margin, that they
 ' be added, diminish'd, and alter'd.

' You have seen Letters from *Don John* and
 ' *Escovedo* in Cyphers, and sign'd by them, and
 ' decipher'd by *Ferdinand de Escobar*, who was
 ' intrusted to do it in all that related to this un-
 ' grateful Story. In them they write to me, to
 ' temper, to moderate, and to season them (which
 ' are their own Words) if I shall think fit.

' You have seen Papers of mine to his Majesty,
 ' answer'd by his Royal Hand, by which it ap-
 ' pears, that I shew'd him the Dispatches as they
 ' came; and you have seen the Minutes of Let-
 ' ters of mine, wherein I writ to them that I

‘ added and diminish’d, and these noted on the
 ‘ Margin by his Majesty’s Hand.

‘ You have seen the * Paper which I call of
 ‘ Divinity, which, if I mistake not, I mention’d
 ‘ that Night on the glorious Rack, since it was
 ‘ for my Fidelity to my King, wherein I give
 ‘ him an Account that I have writ to *Don John*
 ‘ and to *Escovedo*; and his Majesty answers me,
 ‘ and bids me do my Duty; for that is his Di-
 ‘ vinity, and what I am to do.

‘ You have seen some Papers, shewing that
 ‘ Packets of private Persons were open’d with
 ‘ his Majesty’s Consent, and what Care he was
 ‘ in about sealing them again. These are such
 ‘ Familiarities, and such mighty Trusts, that
 ‘ there is nothing so great and extraordinary,
 ‘ but what they might contain.

‘ You have seen several Papers from the King
 ‘ to this persecuted Person, containing extraor-
 ‘ dinary Trusts and Favours, and particularly
 ‘ one after the Death of *Escovedo*, when the
 ‘ Persecution against me was begun, and carry’d
 ‘ on during the Life of the Marquess *de los Velez*,
 ‘ on Account, of that Death; wherein I give
 ‘ his Majesty an Account that the Marquess
 ‘ was dead, to my great Grief for such a Loss;
 ‘ and fearing the Miss I should have of him, as
 ‘ being Sharer with him of his Enemies Envy
 ‘ against him, as so great a Friend of his, be-
 ‘ sides the Envy I lay under on my own Account,
 ‘ for my Share in his Majesty’s Favour, and be-
 ‘ cause

* This Paper, and the King’s Answer, are to be seen hereafter.

' cause the Marques's knew, and was the Adviser
 ' in all this Story, and the Truth of it, and the
 ' Adviser and Mediator of the Favours his Ma-
 ' jesty had bestow'd on me; in this Paper his
 ' Majesty answers, that he will not forsake me,
 ' that I shall not want a Friend, because the
 ' Marques *de los Velez* is dead, and more to
 ' that Purpose; and particularly, that I shall
 ' have no Miss of the Marques; that I may rest
 ' satisfy'd, and be of good Courage, for I have
 ' Cause to be so. Then, with his own Hand,
 ' speaking of the Death of the Marques, he
 ' writes these Words: I am in such a Condition,
 ' that I know not what I say, and the more I
 ' think on't, the more I am concern'd at it, and
 ' that both for your Sake and my own; for I
 ' have a great Loss, and I hope yours is not so
 ' considerable, for I will not forsake you; and
 ' of this you may rest satisfy'd, and be of good
 ' Courage, for you have Reason. Then his
 ' Majesty repeats his Concern, and says, I know
 ' not now what to say to any Business, but only
 ' as to what I have said concerning you; for in
 ' that Particular I do not recant, and I know
 ' what I say as to that. Such Pledges as these
 ' would seem less by being magnify'd; for could
 ' there be any Men found even without the Law
 ' of Nature, they would never make a Scruple
 ' to hazard their Blood and all they were worth
 ' upon them; as I never question'd them in the
 ' Depth of my Troubles and Persecutions, nor
 ' have I despair'd, but do still, to this Day, place
 ' a Confidence in them. This is an Evidence of

‘ my Sincerity and Fidelity, which, together
 ‘ with his Majesty’s Testimony, is to me as good
 ‘ as a thousand Witnesses.

‘ Your Reverence has seen the Copy of a Paper from *Mathew Vazquez* to his Majesty, laying the thing very home about the Death of *Escovedo*, even to making Use of Astrological Judgments, an excellent Proof in such Affairs, and especially from a Priest and an Officer of the *Inquisition*.

‘ To this Particular, you have seen a Paper, of such Moment to prove what I say, and the Matter of killing *Escovedo*, and necessary Motives he had to do it, that I have given you a Copy of this Paper under my own Hand, compar’d by us both with the Original.

‘ All these Particulars are set down and remark’d, that his Majesty may be sensible of the Papers I have to clear my self, and how full they are of important Trusts and Secrets relating to this Business and several others; and may consider whither it is fit they should be produc’d in Court, which will bring a Reflection on many considerable Persons, a Jealousy among his own Subjects, a Scandal upon all Nations, and a Stain upon his Majesty’s Prudence and Religion; lest it be believ’d, that the Fault of managing and carrying on an Affair of such Moment and Consequence, is his Majesty’s, whereas it wholly lyes upon such Ministers as either have little Experience in such weighty Affairs, or are partial, and believe, that having taken away all my Papers,
 ‘ and,

' and, we may almost say, plunder'd my House
 ' with *Algauziles*, I should want Vouchers,
 ' and so my Right would be confounded ; as if
 ' any Man could be put to give such Proofs as are
 ' usual in ordinary Cases, in Affairs of this Na-
 ' ture and Consequence, so secret, and of such
 ' Intimacy, after what has been said, and at the
 ' End of so many Years. But as all Things are
 ' present to God, and, when he is pleas'd, he,
 ' in his Mercy and Justice, seasonably provides
 ' against Malice and Rancour, so has he per-
 ' mitted, that, tho' all my Papers have been ta-
 ' ken from me, as has been said, and is well
 ' known, and even those that were more inti-
 ' mate and familiar betwixt his Majesty and me,
 ' as appears by his own Letters, and by the Te-
 ' stimony of those who deliver'd them, that the
 ' Father-Confessor receiv'd them, yet there re-
 ' main some Papers so plain and effectual in my
 ' Vindication. And tho' they are such as will
 ' not only clear me, but give Testimony of my
 ' Loyalty and faithful Services and Merits ;
 ' yet, as I have always done, I still prefer the
 ' Consideration of his Majesty's Service, the
 ' Honour of his Affairs, and the Censure of the
 ' World, before my own Interest. For since
 ' my Case is become so universally known by
 ' the Tedioufness of my Sufferings and Confine-
 ' ments, and all Nations are acquainted with
 ' me, by having been so near his Majesty,
 ' through his Goodness, it is of the highest Con-
 ' sequence, that the World be satisfy'd as to my
 ' Affairs, and that the Universe may not disco-

' ver upon how solid and sure Grounds I an-
 ' swer'd in that Paper of my Vindication which
 ' is spread abroad, and is full of Hints and In-
 ' nuendo's of these same Secrets and Mysteries,
 ' which I did not reveal, because I was then
 ' commanded by his Majesty's Confessor, not to
 ' clear my self by Papers under his Majesty's
 ' Hand. In Obedience to him, and in Duty to
 ' his Majesty, I obey'd, and suffer'd myself to be
 ' shorn like a Lamb; and I have been silent e-
 ' leven Years, even to the shedding of my Blood,
 ' and suffering my self to be extended on a
 ' Rack, a Thing honourable to me, as being a
 ' Testimony of my Secrecy and Fidelity. And
 ' since a Word to the Wise is enough, and your
 ' Reverence has seen so much, it is needless to in-
 ' struct you any farther, than that you consider
 ' that I must begin to clear my self within eight
 ' or ten Days; and that I look upon the Hour
 ' and Necessity of making my Defence, as an
 ' Answer which your Reverence will be pleas'd
 ' to take particular Notice of.

' Your Reverence carries a Letter from me to
 ' the most Illustrious the Cardinal of *Toledo*,
 ' whom your Reverence is to acquaint with all
 ' this Commission. Besides all that has been said,
 ' your Reverence is put in Mind of all the Co-
 ' pies and Papers you carry for your own Infor-
 ' mation in the Affair you are to manage.

' You have a short *Memorandum* of the Ground
 ' of all this Information. You have Copies of the
 ' Letters I writ to the Confessor on the 7th and
 ' the 10th of *May*, which we have Advice were
 ' deliver'd;

‘ deliver’d ; and a Copy of the Letter from *Antony Perez* to his Majesty, of the 1st of *May*.

‘ You have a Copy of the Confessor’s Letters, concerning the Death of *Escovedo*, the concealing the Causes of it, and the Composition ; which Letters are of great Moment for clearing of me, and very considerable in relation to the Confessor.

‘ You have an original Letter under the Hand of *Don Antonio de Pazos*, President of *Castile*, and Bishop of *Cordova*, concerning the killing of *Escovedo* ; that by it, and by the Writing in it of his Majesty’s own Hand, you may be satisfy’d that all the Papers you have seen, and many more there are of that same Sort, are of the same Kind.

‘ You have also a Copy of my Paper above-mention’d, to his Majesty, and of the Answer under his Hand, concerning what Answer was to be made to the Secretary *Mathew Vasquez*, in relation to the Death of *Escovedo*, by which three or four Particulars will appear.

1. That the Marquess *de los Velez* was acquainted with all this Affair.

2. ‘ The Negociation carry’d on against *Antony Perez* ; to which Point there are many other Papers besides this.

3. ‘ The Cause of killing of *Escovedo*.

4. ‘ And what is more Proof of his Majesty’s approving the Motives there were for it.

The Copy of a Paper from the Secretary Mathew Vasquez, to his Majesty, about the Death of the Secretary Escovedo, which the King gave to Antony Perez, to be communicated to the Marquess de los Velez, for them to consider, and direct what Answer was to be given him.

THE PAPER.

THE Suspicion of that Secretary's having kill'd the other, grows still stronger among the People; and they say he does not think himself very safe, because he takes such Care of his Person since it happen'd; and that by a Figure which has been cast, it appears, that a great Friend of his caus'd him to be kill'd, who was at his Funeral, and that for the Sake of a Woman; and the Day the said Secretary's Wife went to see the Widow, she is reported to have lifted up her Voice, cursing him that did it, in such Manner as was much taken Notice of. If your Majesty would be pleas'd to ask *Negrete* in private, what is said of this Murder, and what he guesSES, I believe it would not be amiss to ask him what Grounds he has for what he says; tho' he has said nothing to me, but I have heard by another way, that he talks of it; and it is very convenient, for the Satisfaction of Ministers, and of the Publick, which

‘ which is so much scandaliz’d at this Affair,
 ‘ and for the quelling of many hard Judgments,
 ‘ and of dangerous Consequence, that your Ma-
 ‘ jesty strictly command the Truth to be made
 ‘ out by all possible Ways and Means. The
 ‘ Paper of *Augustin Alvarez de Toledo*, which I
 ‘ sent your Majesty, and your Majesty return’d
 ‘ me, is very proper for tracing the Suspicion.



*The Copy of a Paper from Antony Perez to
 the Catholick King, wherein he directs
 what Answer is to be given to Mathew
 Vasquez, to his Paper above, with the
 Advice of the Marquess de los Velez.*

Antony Perez’s Paper to the King.

S. C. R. M.

‘ **L**AST Night I saw *Velez*, and shew’d him
 ‘ *Mathew Vasquez’s* Paper. He is much
 ‘ scandaliz’d at all of it; and that your Majesty
 ‘ should be so hard press’d, that they will have
 ‘ the very Soul out of your Body. As for the
 ‘ Answer, he discours’d of some Methods for it;
 ‘ but not to tire your Majesty, he says it may
 ‘ be this which follows.

1. ‘ Between you and me, I am already ac-
 ‘ quainted how this Accident came to pass.

2. ‘ Yet so, that I cannot reveal it.

3. ‘ And

3. ' And therefore I assure you, it is quite of
 ' another Nature than what is here mention'd.
 ' So that there is no Notice to be taken of what
 ' you here say; for it is a needless Curiosity, and
 ' a very rash Judgment.

Thus far *Antony Perez's* Paper to the King,
 who answers him in the Margin with his own
 Hand, thus, to the first Part of the Answer,
Numb. 1.

*He is in the right in that, and I believe it is
 proper that the Answer may undeceive them.*

To the second Part of the Answer, *Numb. 2.*
 the King says,

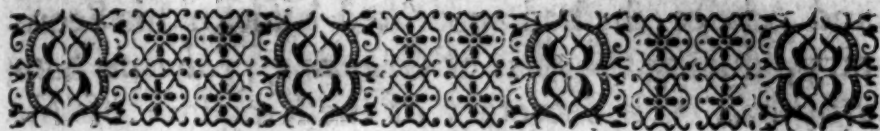
*It is very well, and I have thought fit to add
 and strike out what you see.*

Then, at the End of the said second Part of
 the Answer, the King adds these Words:

*Tho' I heartily wish it might be known some o-
 ther Way, that it might be punish'd. Tho' I be-
 lieve that he who did it, had sufficient Cause for
 so doing.*

Then again, the King addressing himself to
Antony Perez, says,

*If you do not understand any Part of this, bring
 it at Night, and I will explain it.*



The Second PART of the

MEMORIAL.

AND in Regard that, for your Lordship's fuller Information, and the better understanding of all that has been offer'd by *Antony Perez* in his Defence, it is necessary and convenient to give you some Insight into the Business, he will add what follows, since it is now unavoidable to speak so plain as this ; all which his Majesty was acquainted with by the Father-Prior of *Gotor*, in a Paper he carry'd for his Instruction, and his Majesty's Information, to the same Effect, and almost in the same Words as what follows.

It is to be observ'd, that in Respect that *Don John*, his Majesty's * Brother, was of such an excellent Disposition and Temper, and gave such Hopes of being useful for his Majesty's Service and Repose, and for the Good of his Kingdoms, the King was always desirous, and endeavour'd to furnish him with well-meaning and sincere Ministers. Among others, whilst Prince *Ruy Gomez*

* Don John of Austria, Bastard-Brother to King Philip the Second.

Gomez de Sylva was living, and, by his Means and Advice, he had appointed him for his Secretary, during the War of *Granada*, *John de Soto*, who had been Secretary of the Kingdom of *Naples*, a Man of long Service and Experience for that Employ, and particularly for Secretary of War.

He did good Service in that War, and his Management was very advantageous. He gain'd *Don John's* Favour to a high Degree, which rais'd a Jealousy in some prime Counsellors, and particularly in Prince *Ruy Gomez*, because the said *Soto* began to discover an Inclination to Novelty, and to Matters of high Concerns; and because he was the Man that propos'd and recommended him. For this Reason the Prince us'd to say to *Antony Perez*, that it was requisite to purge the Nurse, as believing, by *Don John's* Temper, that the Fault of his not being very orderly in his Actions, proceeded from the ill Advice he suck'd in; and Prince *Ruy Gomez* advis'd *Antony Perez* and *John de Escovedo*, as his Confidants and Friends to *John de Soto*, and who interceded to get him that Place, to give *John de Soto* some Hints, and Checks, pointing to his manner of proceeding.

When the War of *Granada* was ended, it happen'd that *Don John* went to *Italy* with the Command of the Sea, and carry'd *John de Soto* with him in the same Post of Secretary, his Favour and Intimacy increasing daily.

During this Time, and *Don John's* glorious Actions, well known to the World, fell out the Enter-

Enterprize upon *Tunis*. Here it is to be observ'd, that after many Debates, and advising with the Council of State, and with the absent Counsellors, by the unanimous Consent of them all, Orders were sent to *Don John* to dismantle the City of *Tunis*, for very weighty Reasons of his Majesty's Service, that are not to this Purpose, which may be known to some Persons still living, who were then Counsellors to *Don John* in those Expeditions, and by the Papers of *Antony Perez*. * One of *Don John's* Counsellors, I believe, was requir'd and solicited by *John de Soto*, to give his Vote for maintaining the City of *Tunis*. This Story is well worth the knowing, and the said Counsellor, who is still living, answer'd *John de Soto*, That if he would alter the Warrant for the Salary and Allowance his Majesty gave him as Counsellor to *Don John*, and insert, that the Salary was given him for voting as *John de Soto* thought fit, and for complying with *Don John's* Will, and not following the Dictates of his Conscience, he would then freely vote as they would have him.

And tho' *Don John* had this Order, yet he maintain'd the City and Kingdom of *Tunis*, and built the Fort, putting into it some of the best Troops of *Italy*, and not only Men and Officers, but Cannon and all other Necessaries, as was suppos'd, designing to preserve that City and Kingdom for *Don John*, by the Advice of *John de Soto*.

To

* Don Michael de Moncada, who was Viceroy of Majorca.

To this Purpose Application was made, without acquainting his Majesty, to his Holiness *Pius Quintus* of happy Memory, for him to intercede with the King, that he would be pleas'd to consent that *Don John* might have the Title of King of *Tunis* given him; and the Thing was accordingly propos'd to his Majesty by his Holiness's *Nuncio*; and the King was inclinable enough to hearken to the Request, because he had been the chief Promoter of the League; and *Don John* being General, it had the glorious Success of the Victory of *Lepanto*, which his Holiness, in his great Piety and Zeal, foretold, saying, *Let them fight, for they shall overcome*, as it afterwards happen'd.

However, his Majesty, for weighty Reasons, did not yield to this Request, excusing himself with kind and grateful Expressions, for the Love his Holiness shew'd to his Brother.

From that Time forward, there was a greater Jealousy of *Don John's* Proceedings, and of *John de Soto*, who, it began to appear, had a greater Spirit than ordinary; and that this Application was made by his Advice and Contrivance, because he much reflected and spoke of the ancient Power of the *Carthaginians*, and the flourishing Condition of that Kingdom. *Antony Perez* and *John de Escovedo* signify'd to his Majesty, in a more particular Manner than they had done before, of how evil Consequence they judg'd *John de Soto's* Company might prove to his Brother in process of Time; because, besides this particular Instance, they began in private

Discourses

Discourses and familiar Talk, to discover in *John de Soto* great and lofty Thoughts and Designs, which were not proper for *Don John*, nor for his Majesty's Service, and the Peace of his Kingdoms and Dominions. Time, and the Advices receiv'd from some other Ministers, of *John de Soto's* Proceedings, made it be thought convenient to remove him from *Don John*, or, at least, to give him a Companion, who might check his Temper; but it was requisite to use some Art and Industry, that *Don John* might not be pleas'd.

At length it was resolv'd, as most expedient, that since *John de Soto* could not be remov'd from *Don John*, without disgusting of him, he should have a more trusty Secretary appointed him; and to this Effect it was contriv'd, that *John de Soto* should serve as Proveditor-General to the Fleet, and *John de Escovedo* as Secretary, as may appear by *Antony Perez's* Papers.

John de Escovedo was dispatch'd upon this Service, with some Favours and Graces bestow'd on him by his Majesty, and particular Warning and Information why he was chosen for that Service, and to be near *Don John*.

He began to serve at first to his Majesty's liking; but in Process of Time it appear'd that he was so far from performing what he was sent for, that he began to aspire and look high, as well as *John de Soto*, and that he engag'd in deeper Designs and greater Inconveniencies; and in particular it was known, that there began to be intrieging at *Rome*, for the advancing and

T

aggrandizing

aggrandizing of *Don John*, without acquainting his Majesty with it, as appears by some Papers, both Billets and Letters, presented in Defence of *Antony Perez*.

It fell out at this Time, that his Majesty resolv'd to send *Don John* into *Flanders*, which his Highness readily submitted and consented to, and sent *John de Escovedo* from *Italy*, to the King, his Brother, about some Affairs relating to that Post and Undertaking.

Whilst *Escovedo* was at Court upon this Commission, the Nuncio one Day sent *Antony Perez* Word, it was requisite they should have a Meeting. *Antony Perez* went to see what his Business was; and when they were shut up, after much Caution of Secrecy, the Nuncio said, *Who is one Escoda?* *Antony Perez* answer'd, *It was likely he meant the Secretary Escovedo.* The Nuncio reply'd, *That is he. I have receiv'd a Packet from his Holiness, with some Part in Cyphers, and the Substance of it is, that I shall make Application to his Majesty for Don John, in such sort and manner as John de Escovedo shall desire me, to the End his Majesty may be pleas'd that the Enterprize upon England may be taken in Hand, and Don John be provided for in that Kingdom.* The Nuncio desir'd *Antony Perez* to keep this Secret, as far as related to *Don John's* holding Intelligence with the Pope; because it is here to be observ'd, that there was some Advice receiv'd already from *Don John de Zuniga*, first Commendary of *Castile*, concerning *John de Escovedo's* coming and going to and from

from *Rome*; and that tho' his Commissions carry'd some publick Pretence, yet he held Correspondence, and had Interviews with some particular Persons, the Mystery whereof was not known.

To return to the Purpose. *Antony Perez*, after the Conference with the Nuncio, gave his Majesty an Account of what had pass'd betwixt them; which very much troubled his Majesty, and rais'd a great Jealousy in him, because, besides what has been said, there was the Intrigue of *Escovedo* going and coming to and from *Rome*, without his Majesty's being acquainted with the Mystery of it; believing, that this was the Product of those Journeys; as also, because he began to perceive, by other Liberties and Presumptions of *Escovedo* in his Carriage, that the Choice of him to be near *Don John*, had succeed-
ed no better than that of *John de Soto*.

Having consider'd how this Business ought to be manag'd, to give his Holiness a satisfactory Answer to his Application and Intercession, and not to disoblige *Don John*, nor give *Escovedo* any Jealousy, that this Affair had been discover'd without giving his Majesty an Account of it; his Majesty thought fit that *Antony Perez* should tell *Escovedo*, as it were accidentally, what had past betwixt the Nuncio and him, that he might not be surpriz'd. *Antony Perez* did it the best he could, not to alarm *Escovedo*, and to discover his Thoughts and Intrigues; and it was agreed betwixt them two, that is, *Perez* and *Escovedo*, that the Nuncio should be in-

form'd in what Manner he was to apply to his Majesty.

The Nuncio made the Overture, and his Majesty return'd a gracious Answer, expressing much Thankfulness to his Holiness, for his Affection and Care in promoting his Brother, tho', at the same Time, his Majesty was very uneasy at it.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, *Don John* came to *Spain* with two Gallies, tho' Orders had been sent him not to come by any Means, but to go directly from *Italy* into *Flanders*. As soon as he came to Court, *Antony Perez* and *Escovedo* gave him an Account of what was in Agitation, and Order was taken for his Dispatches for the Journey to, and Government of *Flanders*: And his Majesty seeing how eager his Brother was upon the Affair of *England*, the more to encourage and dispose him to endeavour to pacify and compose those Dominions, thought fit to put him in Hopes, that if the Affairs of the Low-Countries were adjusted in such Form and Manner as had been resolv'd on, and the States would consent, that the foreign Troops which were to be drawn off, should depart by Sea, then his Majesty would be pleas'd that they should be employ'd in that Enterprize.

His Highness set out for *Flanders*, as is well known, and so is what he did there, for we shall here mention only what is to this Purpose.

The States would not consent that the foreign Troops to be drawn off, should go by Sea, and so the Affair of *England* ceas'd for that Time, and as had been projected. On the other Hand, the States began to be alarm'd, seeing that the Method of fair Means and Composition, which his Majesty had seem'd to design to try, after that of Force of Arms, was not prosecuted, but that the foreign Troops were still kept in the Country.

After this, it seems, they again from *Flanders* renew'd their Negotiations and Application to his Holiness, without acquainting his Majesty with it; that the Enterprize might be carry'd on by his Assistance, since the Means allow'd of by his Majesty, fail'd; for now the Nuncio sent a second Time to let *Antony Perez* know, he desir'd to see him. He went, and the Nuncio told him, *That he had receiv'd a Packet from Rome, which brought him Advice, that another was come thither from Don John in Cyphers, concerning the Affair of England; desiring the Assistance of his Holiness in it, by some Person to be sent to him with Bulls, Breves, and Money, * and accordingly he had sent one to him with all Things.*

Antony Perez having got this Information, presently acquainted his Majesty, that he might be prepar'd, when the Nuncio should speak to him. He spoke accordingly, to the same Effect, yet concealing that *Don John* from *Flanders* had solicited

* And it was afterwards said, he had sent *Don John* the Investiture of the Kingdom,

solicited the Pope on that Account. His Majesty answer'd, *That it was requisite to consider on that Business seriously, and how it was undertaken, that it might be sure to succeed; and that it was long since he had receiv'd any Letters from his Brother, nor did he know how Matters stood there; and more to the same Effect.* His Majesty gave Orders, that *Don John* should be acquainted with it, and *Antony Perez* writ privately to his Highness, and to *Escovedo*, acquainting them of what had pass'd betwixt him and the Nuncio, and checking *Escovedo*, for that *they had not acquainted his Majesty with that Affair*, and telling them, *he had made it up the best he could.* Yet this private Correspondence of *Antony Perez* was so manag'd, that he conceal'd nothing from his King, but shew'd him all that they writ to him, and the Minutes of his own Letters and Answers; and his Majesty read and mended them with his own Hand. All which, and the said Particulars, appear by a Paper of *Antony Perez*, Numb. 42, wherein he gives his Majesty an Account of what pass'd betwixt him and the Nuncio; and by the Minutes of the Letters from *Antony Perez*, to *Don John*, and to *John de Escovedo*, of the 7th of April, 1577, noted in the Margin with his Majesty's own Hand, which treat of all this Affair; in which also may be seen how *Antony Perez* reprov'd *Escovedo*, as was said above; and in a Letter of *Escovedo's*, of the 29th of May, 1577, is the Answer to that Reproof, decypher'd.

pher'd by *Ferdinand de Escobar*, who was the Man, by his Majesty's Approbation, entrusted with the Secret, and cyphering and decyphering of all this Affair and Correspondence.

Now leaving this Matter for a while, it happen'd, that *John de Vargas Mexia*, who was then Embassador in *France*, gave Intelligence, that some Persons sent by *Don John*, went to and from that Court; and tho' they appear'd sometimes in Publick, yet when they had done the Business they came about, and had carry'd back the Answer, some one of them return'd, and was in private in the Closet of Monsieur de Guise. *John de Vargas* gave Notice hereof several times to *Antony Perez*, as to a Minister and Secretary of State, looking upon such a Correspondence as dangerous, he having no Intimation of it, and the more, if his Majesty had none. His Majesty knowing no more of it than he did, *John de Vargas* was order'd to be very diligent and watchful, to discover what it meant. *John de Vargas* continu'd giving Advice of what he could discover, and that they still went backwards and forwards as they us'd; and at last he writ, that he had understood the said Negotiations betwixt *Don John* and Monsieur de Guise, had proceeded to a private Confederacy between them, under the Title of *The Defence of the two Crowns*. This troubled and alarm'd his Majesty very much, and the more, because they gave him no Account of it; but above all, upon Proof of the Negotiations car-

ry'd on at *Rome* without his Knowledge, and for greater Designs ; fearing lest that might be some Practice and Contrivance of very evil Consequence, for disturbing of the publick Peace, and his Majesty's Kingdoms.

To return to the rest, this came upon the back of *Don John's* great Concern for the Disappointment of the Design upon *England* ; and considering how restless they were upon this Account, and to leave the Command in *Flanders*, which had been so readily accepted of in *Italy* ; and how much they were concern'd to part with those Veteran Troops of Horse and Foot ; and how earnest they were to quit that Place, after the Disappointment of the Affair in *England*, as shall be presently declar'd : These Things, I say, consider'd, their Negotiations in *France* gave much Disturbance, believing they were of a high Nature ; since, among other Projects they propos'd, one was, that *Don John* would be better satisfy'd to go into *France* as a Volunteer, with 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, than to be employ'd in the greatest Posts. Therefore, his Majesty being much perplex'd with this Affair, in a Paper Numb 18, writes these Words to *Antony Perez*. *It will be convenient that you encourage John de Vargas, and that something be sent him ; and that Order be taken, that there be none there but he.*

Don John's, and the Secretary *Escovedo's* Letters, in very pressing and home Terms, gave evident Proof and Demonstration, how much they were concern'd that the Enterprize upon *England*

England had been disappointed, and how little they were pleas'd with the Government of *Flanders* on that Account ; particularly in one of the first of *March*, 1577, to *Antony Perez*, *Don John* writes these Words, *That his Life, his Honour, and his Soul, were concern'd in his leaving that Government ; and that he should certainly lose the two first of them, and with them, all he had and might serve, if the Resolution were delay'd, and the third of them, thro' Despair, would be in great Danger.* In a Letter of the 10th of *February*, 1577, he says, *That the Contrivance upon England being disappointed, he could not tell what to think of, adding, that he is so much dejected at this Misfortune, That he often can think of nothing but a Hermitage, because the Shortness of Life will not allow him to continue the ordinary past Course of it ; nor will his own Nature, still prompting him with what he is, suffer him to consent to it.* And in the same Letter he goes on thus ; *That in short, rather than continue in that Post any longer than 'till another is appointed to succeed in it, he will venture at any thing, even to the leaving of all Things as they are ; and that he will come away when they least expect it, tho' he should expect to be punish'd with the Loss of his Blood.* Then he urges this Point so home, as to say, in relation to coming away, *That he will do it right or wrong ; and that when he is come here, God knows what will come of it, for he is bountiful to all Men ; and that when those, Escovedo writes, are together, says he, we may serve, benefit, and assist one another very much.* Then

at

at last he asks, as the greatest Kindness, that he may come away from thence, *because*, he says, *they will certainly deliver him from being guilty of Disobedience, rather than sink into Infamy.*

That the Design upon *England* was call'd our Contrivance, appears by a Letter of the 26th of *May 1577*, from *Don John* to *Antony Perez*, in Characters, and with some Lines of his Highness's writing; this, and all the rest that follow, decypher'd by *Ferdinand de Escobar*. The Secretary *John de Escovedo* writ to the same Effect, as may appear by his Letters, and particularly by one of the 3d of *February 1577*, in which he proposes Ways and Means for leaving that Government; and among the rest, *That Don John would look upon it as more honourable to go as a Voluntier, with 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, into France, than to continue in the Government of Flanders; and, if that could not be, to return into Spain, and be a Courtier, that he might govern all with his Friends.* Escovedo adds in this Letter, *Let us support him that supports us; and let us help Don John to that he desires; and if it be requisite, he will come to forward the Management.* Besides all this, *Escovedo*, in another Letter under his Hand, of the 3d of *February 1577*, writes, *That he aspir'd to a * Chair and Curtain; and that every Thing*

* By this is meant, to be treated as an *Infante*, or the lawful Son of a King; which King *Philip* would not grant, nor yet absolutely refuse it him when he was in *Spain*, that living in Hopes, he might take the more Care of the Affairs of *Flanders*.

thing else was improper; and since the other Contrivance had fail'd, all the rest would be Trouble and Death; as may appear by the Letter it self, which is deliver'd in. It is to be observ'd, that *Antony Perez* continually gave his Majesty an Account of the Confidence repos'd in him, and still answer'd them accordingly, as if he had exactly solicited those Affairs, and did not discover to his Majesty the Management and Contrivance of his Friends; writing to them, that he continually endeavour'd to promote their Designs, and as Occasion offer'd, solicited effectually for them, as will appear by many of his Papers, and particularly by some of those he has found, by three Abstracts of Letters of his to *Don John* and to *Escovedo*, of the 7th and the 15th of *February 1577*, noted in the Margin with his Majesty's own Hand, and by many Billets of his to the King, all noted in the Margin with his Royal Hand, which are deliver'd in and by the Paper Numb. 5, which, because it is of such a Nature, and to the Purpose in Hand, shall be here copy'd.

The

*The Copy of a Billet from Antony Perez
to his Majesty, answer'd in the Margin
with his own Royal Hand.*

Antony Perez's The Answer under
Paper. the King's own
S. C. R. M. Hand.

THIS Day I had that Letter of Escovedo's deliver'd to me, and in Truth, Sir, I had forgot to read it; and since, I have perus'd it, and answer'd as your Majesty will see. I beseech your Majesty to peruse both, for I shew you all, and my very Thoughts. Your Majesty will be pleas'd not to look upon what I write to Escovedo as a Jest, for it looks as if your Majesty had div'd into my Thoughts, and it is really and ought to be so, for my Mind will not permit me to conceal them. Sir, it is

I Verily believe you forgot it, for you would as well have shew'd it me before, as you send it now; and I conceive, and am satisfy'd with what you say here concerning me; but Care is to be taken that it gives them no Occasion of Suspicion. I have read the Letter, and if you are satisfy'd as to what I apprehend, it may go as it is; and I am sensible it is requisite to write after that manner. There are some Things in his Letter, which I do not understand; keep it to shew me to Morrow, that I may ask it of you. Having

is requisite for your Service, to write, and to hear such Things, for by that Means they run themselves upon the Point of the Sword; and a Man manages that which is for your Majesty's Service best in the first Place, and the rest in the next Place, as I would have it succeed, and I believe it may. But your Majesty will please to take Care how you read these Papers; for if the Artifice be discover'd, I can be of no Use, and must be oblig'd to throw up the Game. For, as to other Considerations, I am fully satisfy'd in so doing I answer my Duty and Conscience, and I need no more Divinity than my own to understand so much.

ving been at Confession to Day, and done it since you went from hence, (for, as the World goes, I think there is need enough of so doing) and being unwilling to read it before any Body, I have not perus'd it 'till now, when it is late; and I send it you, in Case it must go to Night; but I cannot answer him 'till to Morrow, for the Reason I told you of having been at Confession, but will do it to Morrow. And that your Paper of the Answer may be safer, I send it you, that you may bring it to Morrow. Believe me, I am very cautious in all Points; and, according to my Divinity, I am of the same Opinion as you are, that you not only perform your Duty, but that you would not discharge it to God or the World, if you should not do so, that I may have a clear Sight of all Things; which is very requisite, considering the Intricacy of the World, and its Affairs, which are very amazing to me.

You

You shall also give me to Morrow that Memoir of John Andrea.

In the mean-while *Escovedo* appear'd in Spain, whose Coming troubled his Majesty very much, as appears in some Measure by certain Lines under his Hand, on a Letter from *John de Escovedo*, dated at *Santander* on the 2^{ist} of *July*, 1577, which is already deliver'd in ; where his Majesty says, *It will be requisite for us to be well provided in all Respects, and to be very speedy in dispatching of him, before he kills us.*

Besides all this, *John de Escovedo's* Boldness and Presumption, shewing great Disrespect to his Majesty, was consider'd, which appears by some of those Papers, which accidentally remain'd in the Hands of *Antony Perez*, and particularly by those which follow. To this Purpose, in a Billet of the 28th of *January* 1578, under his Majesty's own Hand, there are the following Words. *Escovedo has sent me that Packet, which I thought had some Good in it, and therefore I open'd it by the Way. I suppose he was resolv'd to trouble and disgust me, even upon the Road, rather than lose a good Custom ; and because perhaps he thinks that others disturb me at Madrid, it is likely he reserves his Turn for this Place. I have also suspected he may do it to try whether my Answer differs in your Absence, from what I give when you are present, and therefore I have sent it you. Besides this, there is another Billet, in which he tells him, He sends him a Letter from Escovedo, that he may see how bloody it is, and that in Truth it has amaz'd him. And he*

he calls the Paper, *unmannerly*, which is also deliver'd in.

There is another Billet of the 21st of July 1576, wherein *Antony Perez* returns his Majesty what Answer he thinks fit for him to give to a very disrespectful Paper of *John de Escovedo*, *Antony Perez* at the same Time qualifying his Majesty's Displeasure, and yet his Majesty replies in these Words under his own Hand, *Truly, had he said to me, by Word of Mouth, the same as he writ, I know not whether I could have contain'd myself as I did when that happen'd which you mention here.*

Besides the Disgust on Account of these Liberties and Presumptions of *Escovedo*, the Words the said *Escovedo* us'd to let fall before he went to *Flanders*, are to be consider'd. *That when they were Masters of England, they could possess themselves of Spain, by having the Town of Santander, and the Castle of the said Town, and a Fort on the Rock of Mogro; alledging to this Purpose, That when Spain was lost, it was recover'd from the Mountains.*

There is a Billet of *Antony Perez* to his Majesty, to this Effect, by which it may appear, that as fast as these Things came to his Ears, he convey'd them to his Majesty; for in the said Billet, he puts his Majesty in mind of these Discourses and Contrivances, and his Majesty answers, *That he remembers it very well, and that he thinks Antony Perez is very much in the Right in all Things; and therefore he cannot choose but believe, and much more give Ear to him.*

It makes to this Purpose, that his Majesty sent *Antony Perez* a Proposal of the Secretary *Delgado*, concerning *Escovedo's* Project, that the Rock of *Mogro* should be fortify'd, and he be made Lieutenant, or Governor of it; his Majesty asking *Antony Perez's* Advice, what he ought to do and to Answer in that Case. It is also to this Purpose, that in the same Proposal of the Secretary *Delgado*, there is Mention of 6000 Ducats mispent by *Escovedo*, and not as his Majesty had directed, concerning the which aforesaid 6000 Ducats, his Majesty writes with his own Hand thus. *Truly this was one of his Pranks, and were he not where he is, that ought to be put home, but the present Conjuncture requires what you mention here, and to connive for the present.*

All these Particulars being consider'd by his Majesty, and how *Don John* press'd to have Secretary *Escovedo* dispatch'd to him again, writing these very Words, *Money, and more Money, and Escovedo*, his Majesty thought fit to advise with *Don Pedro Faxarado*, Marquess *de los Velez*, of the Council of State, and Lord High Steward to Queen *Anne*, who had been acquainted with all these Affairs, what was fit to be done, and what Resolution must be taken in such an Exigency. *Antony Perez* did so with the original Papers; the whole Matter was debated, and all Things above-mention'd weigh'd.

The very many Contrivances from *Italy* for promoting of *Don John*, without acquainting or consulting

consulting his Majesty. His great Trouble, because the Affair of *England* had been disappointed, as first projected. The second Effort they made with his Holiness, from *Flanders*, to the same Intent, without informing his Majesty. His Eagerness to quit the Government of *Flan- ders*, seeing the Project on *England* disappointed. The secret Negotiations they manag'd in *France*, without his Majesty's Privy. The Project they discover'd, that they had rather go Voluntiers into *France*, with 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, than be put into the greatest Posts. The harsh Expressions of Trouble and Despair in *Don John's* Letters. In fine, it was concluded, that from all this together, there was Cause to apprehend some extraordinary Resolution, and some great Attempt, to the disturbing of the publick Peace, and the Quiet of his Majesty's Kingdoms, and to the Destruction of *Don John*, if the Secretary *Escovedo* was suffer'd to be any longer about him.

It was judg'd no way convenient to send back the Secretary *Escovedo*, after such Proof of his Disposition, of his Projects and Inventions, especially when these were in such Forwardness, and some one of them ready to come to a Head, and confound all Things. To keep him any longer, seem'd difficult, because he was too sharp, and *Don John* solicited hard for his Dispatch and Return, not without some Jealousy and Apprehension of the Delay, which he thought more than ordinary, or than was requisite for the concluding of the publick Affairs he came about.

And tho' it was debated, whether it would be expedient to order him to be taken into Custody in due Form of Law, this was look'd upon as very inconvenient, lest *Don John*, feeling no particular Cause of his Imprisonment, should suspect it was for the true Reasons, and so come to some extraordinary Resolution.

It was therefore judg'd proper, and the safest Method, to get rid of him by Poyson, or any other Method, and this with the greatest Caution imaginable, that *Don John* might not suspect it proceeded from the true Cause and Motive, but from some private Grudge and Revenge, will appear by many of *Antony Perez's* Papers; and now, by a Billet of his to his Majesty, which is deliver'd in *Numb. 49*, wherein his Majesty, speaking of the Course and Expedient to be follow'd in relation to the Charge against *Antony Perez*, concerning the said Murder, says these Words, *That whilst his being privy to what had been done, could be conceal'd, it was fit it should be so.*

The *Marquess de los Velez* thought this Resolution so expedient, that he said, *That if his Opinion were ask'd, when he had the blessed Sacrament in his Mouth, what Person he thought most necessary to be made away, either John de Escovedo, or any other of the most dangerous, he would give his Vote, that John de Escovedo.* He still enforce'd this in a more particular Manner; and this he said upon *Maunday Thursday* to *Ferdinand de Escobar*, at *Alcala*, where *Antony Perez* then was, five Days before *Escovedo* was kill'd, as the said *Ferdinand de Escobar* repeated it the same Day.

The



The Third PART of the
M E M O R I A L.

IT will not be from the Purpose now, to say something of *Antony Perez* himself, and of the Favour he was in at his first Imprisonment, and before it. *Antony Perez*, the Son of *Gonzalo Perez*, only Secretary of State to his Majesty, who serv'd our Sovereign Lord the Emperor, and the King his Son, forty Years, as is well known to the World; besides the Services done to the Catholick Kings by his Fore-fathers, of which he has many Testimonials; this *Antony Perez* says, that he has himself serv'd thirty Years, not introduc'd by his Father, but brought by his Majesty's Command into his Service, and leaving the Course of his Studies, wherein he made a Progress that gave Hopes of his rising to a considerable Fortune that Way: For tho' no certain Testimonial can be produc'd to this Particular, it may be look'd upon as certain, that it would have been a good and lasting Fortune, since he mounted to that Height, as is well known in the World the other Way, in which he had not spent that Part of his Life, surmounting so ma-

ny greater Obstacles of Envy. This *Antony Perez* has serv'd his Majesty all this while, and how much to his and the general Satisfaction, he refers to the universal Judgment of all Men; and he had the most authentick Testimonials of this Nature under his Majesty's Hand, that any Subject of his Rank can have had these many Ages. He farther says, that during the Time of his Service, several extraordinary Occasions offer'd, some whereof now appear, and for which his Majesty thought he had good Cause, and was oblig'd to bestow on him some unusual Favour.

Among others, he was pleas'd to bestow on him the Office of the Secretary *James de Vargas*, together with that he before had of sole Secretary of State. This appears by Papers and Deliberations of the Marquess *de los Velez*, who was the Manager of it, by Information of the most illustrious the Cardinal of *Toledo*, and by several Papers and Billers of his Majesty's, which were taken from him among his other Papers, tho' accidentally he has still some of them, which sufficiently make out this Truth. And tho' this proceeded from his Majesty's Bounty and Goodness, in Consideration of some particular Services, and without *Antony Perez's* asking of it; yet, after it was given, and so become his own, his Majesty, thinking it for his Service to reform *Vargas's* Office, chang'd his Mind, and would have *Antony Perez* resign the said Office, and after some Debates that ensu'd, which now follows.

That

That *Antony Perez* should continue his Office of Secretary of State, with the Addition of what Secretary *Cayas* had.

That besides this, he should have Commissions and Deliberations for military Passes and Employments.

Besides, the Cardinal of *Toledo*, and another Great Man, who is still living, in his Majesty's Name promis'd him 4000 Ducats a Year, they themselves offering to be Sureties for the Performance of it, and saying they did so by his Majesty's Command, as they can testify; and *Antony Perez* had very authentick Papers of it, of which he has still some convincing enough, under his Majesty's Hand, and under the Hands of the aforesaid Persons, which he has not deliver'd in, because they are not to this Purpose.

He had also given him the Office of Prothonotary of *Sicily*, which is worth about 12000 Ducats; and this in Consideration of some thousand of Ducats spent in his Majesty's Service, which he has thought fit, in this Place, to acquaint your Lordship with, to shew, that after the Death of the Secretary *Escovedo*, and when *Antony Perez* was already under Prosecution for it, his Majesty thought of bestowing extraordinary Favours on him, as on a Person well deserving, not only for his usual and ordinary Services, but also in Consideration of extraordinary Demonstrations of Fidelity and greater Merits, which had redounded much to his Service, and to the Advantage and Peace of his Kingdoms. In this Posture of Affairs, and when he was in the high-

est Degree of Favour, and in the highest and most meritorious Pitch of Services, what follows fell out.

His first Imprisonment, eleven Years since, under Pretence of reconciling him to *Mathew Vasquez*, as appear'd by Letters sign'd by his Majesty to *Grandeess of Castile*, the Cause of those Discontents arising from a blessed *Pasquin* put upon *Antony Perez*; which his Majesty saw, and read, and had in his Royal Hands, discovering more or less whose it was. This *Pasquin* was so offensive, that his Majesty advis'd with the Cardinal of *Toledo*, and *Don Antonio de Pazos*, President of *Castile*, of the Manner of expressing his Resentment for it. *Antony Perez* can produce a Paper under his Majesty's own Hand to this Purpose, proving the Truth of what he delivers, and how much his Majesty was concern'd and offend'd at it; but it only belongs to this Place to hint at it, that it may appear, the Prisoner was the Person wrong'd and punish'd. Such is the Force of ill Advice, as even to affront Justice and the Honour of Princes. This Imprisonment, my Lords, was amazing to all the World, because attended with the most unusual and scandalous Circumstances that ever were seen; and tho' his Majesty declar'd the Cause of it under his Hand, and tho' *Don Rodrigo Manuel*, Captain of the Guards, by the King's Command, oblig'd *Antony Perez* to enter into a solemn Engagement, that he would be Friends with *Mathew Vasquez*; * which

* Because none but such as are noble, are capable of such Engagements, and those not allow'd to be put upon the Rack.

which Action was no ways suitable to the putting him afterwards upon the Rack; yet the World would not be perswaded, but that it proceeded from greater Motives, and those of the highest Consequence, which is one of the greatest Burdens that can be laid upon the Conscience by any Imprisonment, and the Noise it makes Abroad. *Antony Perez* being thus confin'd, Informations were privately taken against him, relating to the Death of *John de Escovedo*, as may appear by the original Process before *Antony Marquez*; besides, all that had been transacted with his Majesty, and contriv'd against *Antony Perez* on Account of that Murder, whilst the said *Antony Perez* was yet alive, that is, in his Majesty's Service and Favour, and the more violently for that very Reason. He had very good Testimonials, under his Majesty's Hand, to this Point; and still, after the Seizing and general Plunder of all his Papers, it has pleas'd Divine Providence, which takes Care of the Innocent, and is zealous for Justice, that among those Papers he has accidentally found, there are Proofs of many Truths, which never were believ'd; and that tho' he was the Party accus'd, he, at the same Time, was advis'd with by his Prince as to those very Affairs, which is also made out by Billets of his own and of the King's, convincing enough, which he has deliver'd in. And what is yet more amazing, is, that those Informations were taken so leisurely, that whole Years pass'd away between the Examinations of Witnesses; and for the Space of five Years together

ther there was no Proceeding at all in the Case, as may appear by the Process it self, if they will suffer it to be seen, in *Castile*. These Things going on thus slowly, there was another Sort of Persecution and Tryal set on Foot, which was the *Inquest*, on Account of his Post and Office as Secretary of State; and he was try'd, and had such an unmerciful Sentence pass'd upon him, as is well known, tho' all the Misdemeanors laid to his Charge were such, that in the Judgment of Men of the greatest Wisdom and Piety, he could not have been fin'd the thousandth Part, or rather not at all, as those Persons openly declar'd. For as to the two last Allegations, concerning Secrecy and Characters, besides that they were in general Terms, it may now appear what Proof there was of them, since, after their putting all they could rake together to this Purpose, from the Proceedings of the *Inquest* against *Antony Perez*, it appears to have been so far from any Crime or Offence, to ground such Proceeding and Judgment upon, that it was rather meritorious, and a Testimony of his Fidelity and Zeal for his King's Service. And it is well worth observing, that the *Inquest* was commenc'd when, in the Opinion of the World, he was in Disgrace with the King, out of Office, and without any Thing to shew in Vindication of himself and his Honour; when, in Conscience, he ought to have been first restor'd to his former Condition, that he might be proceeded against as is usual against others put upon the *Inquest*. But above all it is remarkable, that he was try'd and condemn'd by a Judge he had excepted against,

against, which was *Roderick Vasquez*, without trying the Cause of that Exception ; and what is more, that he was condemn'd to a personal Punishment, which was some Years Imprisonment, which could not be legally done in a Tryal by Inquest, but in open Court.

After the aforesaid Tryal and Condemnation by Inquest, he being confin'd in the Fort of *Tu-ruegano*, was desirous to come into this Kingdom of *Aragon*, where his Majesty then was, to demand Justice, finding himself much wrong'd, his Wife injur'd, and all his Honour and Estate going to utter Ruin and Destruction ; his Majesty then out of the Kingdom of *Castile*, and his Cause depending before partial Judges, who exercis'd all manner of Cruelty and Barbarity on the Parents, Children, Servants, Friends, and Estate. Nay, Malice prevail'd so far, that the *Alcaldes de Corte*, seiz'd upon the Ecclesiastical Revenue of his Son *Don Gonzalo Perez*, as still appears by the original Seizure and Order. It is a manifest Proof of *Antony Perez's* Design of coming to *Aragon*, to the Intent aforesaid, that he then, by Way of Prevention, privately caus'd himself to be put upon the Tryal by *Manifestation*, as is well known ; and this, to the Confusion of Malice and Envy, is a Demonstration, that *Antony Perez* desir'd Justice, and not to get away into foreign Countries. But this same perhaps was the Cause of his being then more closely confin'd, as was reported throughout *Spain* ; and some, who are still living, may judge of it, lest *Antony Perez*, as an *Aragonian*, should come to
the

the *Cortes*, to demand Justice for the Wrongs done him. This was the Reason why, after that Uproar which happen'd during the sitting of the *Cortes* at *Monçon*, and his Majesty's Stay in this Kingdom, he was kept close Prisoner, and loaded with Irons, in the Custody of the Licentiate, *Torres de Avila*, a Man so cruel, that he boasted he had rack'd above a thousand Men. This Man was his Keeper, and kept him up from any Company, with double Irons, ninety odd Days, believing he did his Majesty good Service, as if he had punish'd some Pyrate of *Argier*.

At the same Time, and on the same Account, was that close Confinement of *Donna Joanna Cello*, Wife to *Antony Perez*, and of all his Children, who were then mere Children indeed. During her Imprisonment, they demanded of her her Husband's private Papers and Vouchers, with some distant Shew of Threats; for, tho' I could, I will not call them real Menaces, beside the manifest Oppression of keeping her a Prisoner; and asking her Husband's Discharges when she was in that Condition. Pray, my Lords, observe, that as soon as she deliver'd them, she was releas'd out of Prison, as appears by his Majesty's * Confessor's second Letter to the said *Donna Joanna*, which is deliver'd into Court; which shews, that her Discharge came with the Advice of his receiving the Papers.

It

* Father James de Chaves, the Confessor, who was the Manager of this Affair, had certainly a nice Conscience for a Religious Man, who could demand of her those Papers, and keep them, to deprive her Husband of his Defence.

It is worthy to be seriously consider'd, that *Antony Perez* being now, according to all human Laws, discharg'd as to all Points relating to the Execution of his Employment, as Servant to his Majesty, by the Tryal and Condemnation by Inquest, whether just or unjust, he was no longer accountable for his Office, but only for his personal Offences; because no Man can, in Justice, be try'd more than once for the same Thing; and for the personal Crimes, if there had been any, he has been detain'd and oppress'd so many Years, under such various Confinements, and not only he, but his Wife *Donna Joanna Coello*, and his Children, several Times, not to mention that Arrest which amaz'd the World, as being in the Face of most Nations, upon the Sea, or River of *Lisbon*, when she went to demand Justice for her Husband. Here it is to be also observ'd, that his Majesty, as a religious Prince, and thro' the Mediation of her Majesty the Empress to the King her Brother on that Account, reflecting on the Hardship put upon a Woman, who had miscarry'd with the Disorder of that Action, when the Mischief was done; his said Majesty sent her Orders to return to *Castile*, with a Promise, by Doctor *Rengifo*, a Jesuit, who was then at *Lisbon* soliciting for *Antony Perez*, that as soon as he return'd to *Castile*, he would dispatch her Husband's Affairs; and this Message was deliver'd to the said Doctor by *Santoyo* and *Roderick Vasquez*, from the King himself. And *Roderick Vasquez* shew'd Doctor *Rengifo* a Billet under his Majesty's Hand to this Effect, as may be made out

out by that religious Man's Letters, and oral Testimony. Yet, for all this, after so many Delays and Promises, they never came to any Resolution, or to give any Signs of Life, or that so many Sufferings should have an End, or to any decisive Tryal of his Cause; but, on the contrary, they were told, *They must hold their Peace; they must suffer on; they must not demand Justice; they must sue for Mercy; they must humble themselves.* Nay, it stopp'd not here; for some of his Majesty's Ministers gave out, and among 'em *Roderick Vasquez*, said to Father *Regiso*, as appears by his Letters, *That had Anthony Perez shew'd more Sorrow, his Majesty would certainly have restor'd him to his Place, and to a better.* This has been publickly in the Mouths of all Men; as also, *that the Cause of Anthony Perez's Sufferings, was his being gay and splendid, and his not wearing Sackcloth and Asbes.* This also will appear by the criminal Process concerning the Murder, commenc'd at *Lisbon* eleven Years ago, where there are Witnesses allow'd of, who depose nothing, but that *Antony Perez* was splendid; as if there were any Law against, or Penalty assign'd, for fine Cloaths and curious Dress, or any such Thing could be, where the Thing in its Nature is indifferent.

After all these unaccountable and various Tryals, Confinements, and Accusations, he was brought to Court, under a very easy Confinement, and there continu'd in that Manner fourteen Months, as is well known; nay, he had private Leave from his Majesty, to go publickly
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in the *Holy Week*, to the Church of *Our Lady of Atocha*, to Divine Service, and this without the President of *Castile*, or the President *Roderick Vasquez*, having any Hand in this Leave; by which it appears, that either there still remain'd some Footsteps of his Majesty's former Favour, or that his Confinement was upon such trivial Grounds, as would allow of those Favours, without advising with the Ministers of Justice.

Whilst he continu'd under this Confinement, he was again made close Prisoner, with more Scandal and Severity, on the 9th of *June*, 1589; and on the 25th of *August*, that same Year, after eleven Years Proceedings, he was more publicly charg'd with the Death of *John de Escovedo*. He gave in his Defence to this Charge in ten Days, after the Charge laid against him publicly upon a Process that had been eleven Years forming under Hand, tho', at the same Time, in the Opinion of all the Lawyers that saw it, it did not contain any sufficient Matter to confine him, but less to justify so many sundry Imprisonments, and such Havock as had been made of him; all which may appear by the last Proofs brought out of *Castile* against him. It is here particularly to be observ'd, as being the most unaccountable Thing that ever was seen, that the Process was shewn to *Antony Perez's* Lawyers, concealing the Names of the Witnesses, and read to them piece-meal. My Lords, whether there can be sufficient Ground in the Cause of that Process, for such an unusual Manner of shewing it, will appear by the Evidence sent from *Castile* against

gainst *Antony Perez*; for tho' all the Power of Malice and Envy, in Combination, has follow'd it, yet there has come no more Proof against him than what has been seen, and is of that Nature, that it may almost serve for his Defence and Vindication.

Thus stood the Case of the Murder, when *Antony Perez* receiv'd Orders from the Confessor, to confess the Murder, telling him, *that would put an End to all his Sufferings*, since it was the Ground and Occasion of them all, as will appear by the original Letter which is deliver'd in.

Observe here, my Lords, what different Methods were taken, and particularly one Thing that is very strange, which is, that upon *Antony Perez's* Answer to the Confessor, desiring him to consider seriously, whether it would not be best, in all Respects, to satisfy all their Consciences, and for other weighty Considerations, to compound with the adverse Party; all which he did to avoid the publishing of such secret Intrigues; and tho' the Resolution taken before by the Confessor, proceeded from such great Advice, yet it was so easily alter'd, and the Project of Composition, propos'd by *Antony Perez*, was so easily embrac'd. The Confessor approving of it, the Composition was made, to *his great Cost, by the Interposition of the Admirall of *Castile*, and with Leave from the President, *Roderick Vasquez*, who was Judge in that Cause, as is well known, and may be made out by the Confessor's Letters

* The Composition cost *Antony Perez* 20000 Ducats.

Letters deliver'd into Court, and by other Proofs. Hence may be inferr'd who is answerable for the Damage and Expence of this Composition, besides a thousand other Damages of Losses and Obstructions of Gain, which have happen'd in so many Years, and amidst such Variety of Sufferings as *Antony Perez* has gone through, to his great Comfort, as being for the Service of his King, and in Testimony of his Fidelity.

Antony Perez cannot in this Place forbear minding your Lordships of one Particular of great Moment, for your fuller Information, and for the Satisfaction of the World, which is, that he would not confess the Murder, tho' his Majesty's Confessor writ to him, as was said above; and that he stood so obstinately in refusing to discover the Motives there had been for it, tho' the President, *Roderick Vasquez*, shew'd him a Paper of his Majesty's own Writing, wherein the King declar'd, that the Murder had been committed by his own Order and Command, and enjoin'd *Antony Perez* to reveal the Motives of it; for *Antony Perez*, tho' he saw such Authority and Orders, was oblig'd not to credit them, not only because it is a natural Duty for every Man to avoid condemning himself, especially where there is very little or no Evidence against him; but in Regard he had mighty Testimonials of the Agreement betwixt them, that all possible Means should be us'd to avoid making of it known that his Majesty had been concern'd in what was done. And to shew, that what has been here alledg'd is certainly true, I will here repeat the very Words
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his Majesty writes to this Purpose, in the Billet, Numb. 49, of those that have been deliver'd into Court, for the Prisoner's Vindication; the Words are these that follow, *and as long as it is not absolutely necessary to make it known, that I had any Hand in what has been done, it will be convenient to avoid it.* And his Majesty farther adds to *Antony Perez*; and it is necessary that you will have and endeavour it be so; for if it should be requisite to do otherwise, I am ready to allow of it; but all Ways must be try'd first. And this Particular his Majesty bandies backwards and forwards in a long Paper of his own writing.

My Lords, I beg the Favour and the Justice, that you will consider what a Subject ought to do amidst such Evidences, and how great a Sufferer he has been, in his Soul, his Mind, and every Part of him, amidst such confuse and contradictory Orders; and that he was oblig'd, besides the natural Right of his own Defence, rather to obey the Order and Agreement betwixt his King and him, which had pass'd in the most intimate Confidence of this whole Affair. And had those Ministers, who had to do with him on this Account, understood State-Affairs, and what Obedience is, or is not, due in them, they would look upon it rather as an Offence to obey, than a thing unaccountable to refuse it. It is likely they are not sensible, that a Fort or Castle of Moment is not to be deliver'd, tho' a thousand Orders under the Prince's Hand be produc'd to that Effect, unless they see and receive the Sign, or Token, agreed on; which, tho' it be very often but a
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broken Stone, or Piece of Money, yet it is of more Authority than the King's Hand. How much more Reason then had *Antony Perez* to depend upon what he had under his Majesty's Hand, in such pressing Terms and Expressions, especially when the contrary was so unreasonable a Thing, and of such ill Consequence on several Accounts, and perhaps contriv'd by private Malice? For it is certainly known to *Antony Perez*, to have been the Advice of *Roderick Vasquez*, who was continually studying of new Plots and Contrivances, as believing that *Antony Perez's* Sufferings were drawing towards an End, that he might bring him upon new Tryals, and confound his Right: For he concluded, that all his Papers being taken from him, whereof the said *Roderick Vasquez* has a considerable Number at this time; and the Confessor having got those of more Secrecy, betwixt the King and *Antony Perez*, from *Donna Joanna Coello* his Wife, as appears by his Letters to *Donna Joanna*, and a Receipt of them deliver'd into Court, he concluded, I say, he would have nothing to produce in his Vindication, and so the Justice of his Cause must fall to the Ground. As if he could be call'd to Account for such weighty and secret Affairs as in ordinary Cases. For when a Minister can give a lawful Interpretation where his Prince's Secrets are concern'd, the contrary Sense is not to be presuppos'd, especially when the said Minister is the Manager of such extraordinary Affairs and Trusts, whose bare Word the Law directs shall be taken, especially when all his Papers had

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been

been taken away before, without an Inventory, and so long Time after the Things happen'd. Nor ought he to examine his King's Orders and Commands any farther than to obey, when the Prince is absolute, as his is, and the whole Execution of the Laws depends on his Will; or ought the Subject to be any way question'd for whatsoever he did by his Order.

The aforesaid Charge of the Murder, and the Considerations attending it, being weigh'd, *Roderick Vasquez* was inform'd, that it was against Conscience and Justice, to ask or answer any Questions remote from the Cause depending, after the Process was concluded, the Party aggrieved had granted a Pardon, and a Composition made by such an Order, and on Account of not discovering the highest Secrets, to the Detriment and Dishonour of third Persons.

I must here beg Leave of my natural Inclination and Respect, to relate a Passage, at which Nature it self may well stand amaz'd, which is this: That whilst *Antony Perez* was in these Confinements, and under the Judgment of the President *Roderick Vasquez*, at the Beginning of the Year 1589, in the House of *Don Pedro Zapata*, the said *Roderick Vasquez* sent the Deputy *Xuarez*, a grave religious Man, of the Order of the Holy Trinity, residing at Court, to desire he would assist him with his Kindred and Friends at *Segovia*, * in the Information that was then taking, for be-

bs* In Spain no Man is admitted to any of the military Orders, 'till Information taken, that his Family is free from any Stain for four Descents, and are Gentlemen.

flowing on him the Order of Knighthood ; and that he would give him a Meeting, to discourse about this Affair, when he was his Prisoner ; and accordingly he met him one Night. And farther, *Antony Perez* sent him Word before, by the said religious Man, and by a Note, that he might appoint an Hour to see him, but that it must be upon Condition he should not talk to him of any Thing but his own Business. *Antony Perez* went one Night to see him, being admitted at a back Door and Stairs : He discours'd about his Business, and * *Antony Perez* undertook to write to his Relations at *Segovia*, they being of Note, and some of the best in that City, to take Care what they did, and be assisting in procuring that Knighthood with their best Endeavours. *Antony Perez's* Relations did it effectually, assisting *Don John de Avila*, Nephew to *Roderick Vasquez*, who apply'd himself to them, and follow'd the Business. *Antony Perez* presumes to give this Account, as being some Part of a Charge upon the Judge who has done him so much Harm ; whose Malice increas'd because this Kindness came to be known, and he was put in Mind of it, with a Complaint of the Wrongs he continually did to *Antony Perez*, by *Don Joseph Perez del Hierro*, one of those who had a Hand in that Information ; which is so true, that *Antony Perez* has a Paper under the Hand of *Roderick Vasquez*, answer'd by another of his, in which he returns him Thanks

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for

* *Roderick Vasquez*, to oblige *Antony Perez* to do him this Kindness, told him how many Millions were laid out on the Fleet and other Preparations against England, the Negotiations then on Foot in France, and in assisting the Leaguers there.

for it, with as much Respect as a Criminal could shew to his supream Judge. However, let not any Man, on this Account, forbear doing Good to his Enemies for God's Sake, and for their greater Confusion. Notwithstanding this Favour receiv'd, for the Advancement of his Honour from the very Person accus'd before him; notwithstanding that the said *Roderick Vasquez* had been excepted against as Judge, as was already mention'd in the Tryal by Inquest, five Years before, and this after the Confessor had then, before the Tryal was commenc'd, demanded of him to shew Cause for his Exception, as he did; and notwithstanding he still sat as his Judge, without examining or trying the said Cause of Exception; be it known to all Men, that he trampled upon all the said Considerations, and all Respect due to God and the World, to State-Policy, and to the Law of Nature; and did not stick, with his Associate, the Licentiate *John Gomez*, to put to the Rack a Subject and Servant who had so frequently and familiarly been in the Presence of his Majesty, and enlighten'd by the bright Rays of his Favour, in the Management and discoursing of the most important Affairs, and such extraordinary Trusts, that there is no Offence so great, but might be shrouded under 'em; much more might he deserve, not to be put into that miserable Condition and Posture, without any personal Crime on his Side, to occasion such an Examination. Nay more, this Cruelty was acted by those Persons who, if they were not acquainted with the mighty Pledges that were

were betwixt the King and *Antony Perez*, knew at least what Post he had been in near his Royal Person; and that he was not rais'd to it from any mean Fortune, as keeping of Sheep or Swine, but was of such Quality as has been already mention'd. And it is well worth considering, that during these eleven Years, without coming to any formal Tryal, he has suffer'd many and great Calamities and Hardships, in his own Person, in his Wife, in his small Children, in his Health, in his Honour, in the Employments his Father and he serv'd in for so many Years, to the great Satisfaction of all Nations, in his Estate, which has been publickly expos'd to Sale, with such universal Scandal to Nature it self, that the very Shirts of his Infant-Children born in the Prison, were sold by publick Out-cry, and even the Thimble and Sampler of his eldest Daughter *Donna Gregoria*; a Daughter whose Worth and good Qualities, above her Age, have been discover'd by Necessity, and her Parents wanting their Liberty to sue for Justice, and gain'd her great Applause. Nor is it less to be observ'd, that they would not give either the Mother or Children their own Cloaths to wear, unless they bought them; a * Thing contrary to the Laws of Gentility, and the Respect due to the Female Sex, and to the small Age of Children; and all this was done without any Judgment given.

To conclude, my Lords, all these Sufferings have fall'n upon a whole Family, all of them the Children

* In Spain no Gentleman can have his Wearing-Appare, Horse, or Arms, seiz'd upon any Account.

dom and Grand-children of very loyal Subjects and Servants to the Crown and Royal Family. I cannot restrain my Pen from delivering what follows, which is, That besides the Services done by *Antony Perez*, and by *Gonzalo Perez*, his Father, and their Predecessors, there is some Consideration due to those of the Fore-fathers of *Donna Joanna Coello* his Wife, as very well deserving to be remember'd: For her Ancestors, both by her Father and Mother, were so loyal to their King, that they were persecuted by the rebellious Commoners in *Madrid*, the Year that Rebellion happen'd, * who threw down their Houses, and sow'd them with Salt, for their adhering to the King, whereof there are still Eye-Witnesses living; and they were forc'd to send their small Children in Horse-Litters towards *Burgos*, to save at least those dear Pledges from that Danger and Confusion. There is still another Remark of great Moment, my Lords, which is, That *Antony Perez* being so near to his Prince's Favour, was persecuted and attack'd on all Sides for that very Reason, as his Majesty himself declares to the said *Antony Perez*, under his own Hand, in some Billets already deliver'd in for his Justification. And in the Height of that quiet Possession of such Favour, as never was known in any Man of his Quality, when Grace and Intimacy smil'd upon him, as the same Papers make out; it will appear, that even then he was desirous to remove himself

* A Custom in Spain, to throw down the Houses of Rebels, and sow the Ground with Salt, to signify it must lie waste, as a Mark of Infamy, this was perform'd by Rebels against loyal Persons.

self at a Distance, and to secure his poor Vessel and Family in some Retreat, as fearing the Storms of Envy, and discovering the Tempests and Hurracans of Persecution that were coming on him: To which Point he has deliver'd in sufficient Papers; and it will particularly be prov'd by the Billet, *Numb* 49, that he endeavour'd to quit his Majesty's Service, for Fear of losing himself, his Life, and all he had with his Post. And this he would have done, had he follow'd the Dictates of his Mind and natural Reason, and had he not been detain'd by his Obedience to his Majesty, and by the Respect and Credit due to such Pledges as he receiv'd from his Majesty. This made him submit, rather out of Obedience, than for Want of being sensible of the End he might come to, according to the Experience he had gain'd, and the Power of Envy, and the sudden and violent Revolutions and Changes of the Age. After all this high Favour and personal Merits of his Ancestors, after such Testimonies given of his Loyalty, after such unaccountable, such various and tedious Imprisonments, and after so many Persecutions begun, and none of them concluded, perceiving that his Sincerity and Justice, being sunk in such Darkness, thro' the Power of Envy, could not obtain one Hour of Light, or secure Defence, he came away into this Kingdom, the native Soil of his Parents and Ancestors, to remove himself from so much Malice, and at least to save the Hull of this Vessel of his Body, and Honour, and to vindicate his own, and his Predecessors, and his Country's Reputation. Yet is

Malice

Malice so prevalent, that instead of cooling, by having the Occasion of it, that is, *Antony Perez*, remov'd, it rather grows hot, that with him his Right and Justice may be overwhelm'd, and lye bury'd in the Prejudice of his Persecutors. And what is worse, there are still Ways and Means contriving to consume him, and Pretences and Allegations to drag him to his Grave in a Prison, which is a great Offence against Heaven and Earth, and to the Reputation of his Majesty's Justice and Piety.

In fine, *Antony Perez* beseeches your Lordships, and charges your Consciences, in the Name of God, and of the World, and of his Majesty himself; so much he still confides in his royal and religious Intention and Disposition, that you will have special Regard to his Justice, with a Christian, and more than ordinary Consideration, in respect to the Malice and Oppression which several Ways appears in his Cause is so extraordinary; and that you will lay before you all his Sufferings, mention'd for the Space of twelve Years; so that there is no Part of him, of his Wife, Children, Honour, or Estate, but what has sustain'd excessive and unparallell'd Damages. And above all, he puts you in Mind of the Words of the Holy Ghost, wherewith he concludes this Paper, *Ecclesiasticus*, Chap. vii, ver. 6. *Seek not to judge, being not able to take away Iniquity, lest at any time thou fear the Person of the Mighty.*



